MEMORIAL

OF

WILLIAM JULIUS MANN, D.D., LL.D.

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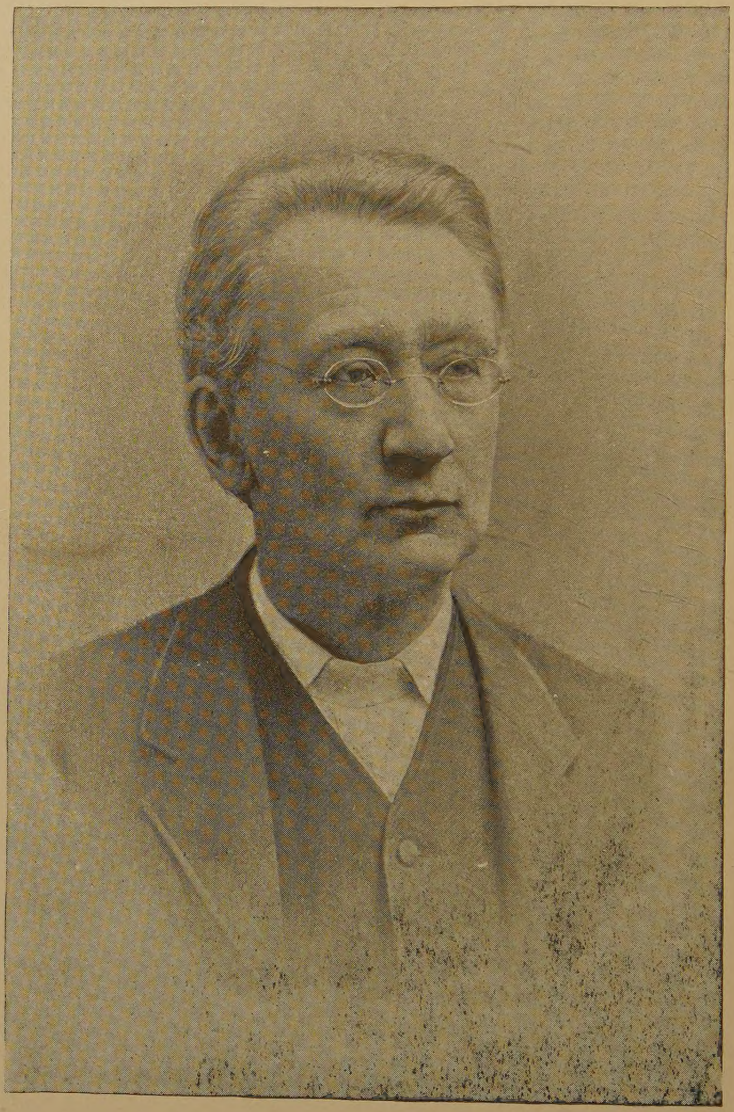

WILLIAM JULIUS MANN, D. D, LL. D.

MEMORIAL

OF

WILLIAM JULIUS MANN, D. D., LL. D.

Pastor Emeritus of Zion's German Lutheran Congregation, Philadelphia, and German Professor of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania in the Theological Seminary, Mt. Airy, Philadelphia.

BY

ADOLPH SPAETH, D. D.

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WILLIAM JULIUS MANN, D.D., LL.D.

Born in Stuttgart, Wuerttemberg, May 29, 1819.

Died in Boston, Mass., June 30, 1892.

I. ANCESTORS; EARLY LIFE; SCHOOL DAYS AND UNIVERSITY TIME.

An old legend to which Dr. Mann himself sometimes referred in a half humorous manner, traced his ancestors back to an officer in the army of the Swedish king Gustavus Adolphus, who, after the death of the brave Northern hero, tired of the vicissitudes of the thirty years' war, had settled in the little village of Hirschlanden, Württemberg. But the church records do not bear out this interesting tradition. They help us to trace the genealogy back to Johannes Mann, who, in 1624, held the position of treasurer of the Church fund (Heiligen-Pfleger) in Hirschlanden, and bought the record-book for the congregation for the sum of four florins. To hold such a position of trust he must have been a man of 40 to 50 years, and we are safe in saying that he was born about the time of the Book of Concord, of German and not of Swedish parentage. Descendants of the same name are still found in that village of about 500 souls, belonging to the diocese

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of Leonberg, not many miles distant from Stuttgart. When Dr. Mann, in the year 1857, paid his first visit to his German home, after twenty-two years of labor in America, he preached in the village church, where, for two centuries, his ancestors had listened to the Word of God, and among the worshipers on that occasion, several branches of the family were represented.

Of his ancestors Dr. Mann himself writes: "Most of them were farmers and were in satisfactory circumstances. My father, showing good talents, was by his father, who also was a farmer in Hirschlanden, sent as a boy to the classical school at Stuttgart (Gymnasium). Afterwards he served an apprenticeship in an extensive mercantile firm at Frankfort on the Main, and was for a time clerk in a business in the city of Erlangen, Bavaria. Returning to Stuttgart, he at last settled there, doing business for himself until about 1845, when he retired."

His father, John George Mann, was a prominent merchant in Stuttgart, a man of broad culture, high social standing, and of sincere piety, whose house was frequented by scholars, poets and clergymen like Ludwig Uhland, Gustav Schwab, Wilhelm and Ludwig Hofacker, Christian Adam Dann, Christian Gottlob Barth, Albert Knapp and others, well known and held in grateful remembrance throughout the Church of Württemberg. There is an interesting entry in Dr. Mann's early diaries referring to a criticism of his father's on the Christmas sermon of one of the most popular and poetical Stuttgart pulpit orators. Young Julius was enthusiastic in his praise of the sermon which set forth the new-born Christ as the King of men and angels, the Saviour of sinners and the Lord of glory. But the father was far from being satisfied with it, saying that the famous preacher would never convert one soul by his efforts. "A severe judgment," remarks Julius, "but resting on his firm and clear knowledge of the true way of salvation."

For more than thirty years John George Mann was treasurer of the Württemberg Bible Society (having also been one

of the original 15 founders of the same), and only about a year before his death Dr. Mann was surprised and gratified to find among the papers of Dr. Helmuth, which were given to him for preservation in the Archives of Synod, a letter from the Bible Society of Württemberg in the well known hand of his father, written in answer to an appeal from America.

His mother was Augusta Friederike Gentner, daughter of the Ober-Amtmann Gentner of Freudenstadt, in the Black Forest, Württemberg. Her genealogy can be traced back to ante-reformation times, and among her connections we find names honorably known in the history of Württemberg, such as the Bilfingers and Weckerlins. She was characterized by a quick and lively spirit, a decidedly poetical cast of mind and great fondness for reading and study. Her mother also was of a literary turn, and there is still in the possession of Dr. Mann's family the manuscript of a History of the Popes during the Middle Ages, in two volumes, written in the firm and even hand of that studious great-grandmother. Dr. Mann's own opinion was that he inherited many of his characteristic qualities from his mother. She died at Stuttgart, ten years after her husband, in her 79th year, two years after his first visit to his native town.

Of these parents Wm. Julius Mann was born on the 29th day of May, 1819, his mother's birth-day. He was the second son of his father's second marriage and one of six boys, born into the family, but neither he nor the brothers knew, until they had reached manhood, that they were not sons of the same mother, so close was the bond of love uniting them all. Theirs was a peculiarly happy childhood, full of sunshine, innocent fun and merriment, governed by a sympathizing, loving mother who always insisted on strictest obedience, and by the good counsels of a tender-hearted father, all pervaded and hallowed by the spirit of a healthy and sincere Christianity. Numerous anecdotes are preserved from this time, showing some of the prominent features in the character of the future man, his generosity, his noble ambition, his fond-

ness for wit and humor, his artistic traits. Climbing to high and dangerous places was one of the chief delights of little Julius, and the desire to reach the top of St. Leonard's church-tower haunted the very dreams of the ambitious boy. The organ loft and organ were special objects of interest and investigation, and he was determined to find out how to make music on that mysterious and powerful instrument.

At the age of nine, little Julius was sent, in company with his elder brothers, to the Latin school in Blaubeuren, a small town in the neighborhood of Ulm, on the southern slopes of the Suabian Alb, at the head of the river "Blau," which rises there from a beautiful deep lake, called "Blautopf" (the Blue-pot). It was a great change from the sunny vine-clad hills and the genial climate of Stuttgart, to the barren rocks and sombre woods of that secluded Alb-Valley, and from the sweet atmosphere of that happy home, to the prosaic life and stern discipline of the Latin school. Life's work began in earnest; and the time and opportunity for learning were put to good use by the industrious young scholar. Five years afterwards, at the age of fourteen, he entered the Gymnasium in Stuttgart, where he received his preparatory education for the University. In the autumn of the year 1837, he matriculated at the University of Tübingen, where he took the usual four years' course in philosophy and theology, passing his final examination in 1841. His philosophical studies during the first eighteen months of his university course were more or less under the influence of the Hegelian system, which at that time was still supreme. And even the theology taught in Tübingen at that very time began to show the influence of those ambitious followers of Hegel, who became the founders and chief representatives of the so-called modern Tübingen School. The "Life of Jesus" by David Friedrich Strauss had just appeared. And Dr. Christian Ferdinand Baur, the real father and head of that school, was daily growing in popularity, though he had not yet advanced to those extreme negative positions in New Testament criticism, for which he became so famous in later years.

But over against these dangerous tendencies which threatened to destroy the faith of the young theologian and to unfit him for the practical ministry, the students found a strong and healthy reaction in the teachings of Dr. Christian Friedrich Schmidt. He was Professor of New Testament Exegesis (his exposition of the Epistle to the Romans being particularly praiseworthy), of Ethics and Practical Theology. The manner in which he directed the homiletical and catechetical exercises of his students was of the greatest value to them. He taught them to appreciate the fullness and richness of the Bible text, which they were to handle. A thorough possession of the scriptural matter and a clear and logical mastering of the same was his principal aim with his pupils. He was a biblical theologian in the modern sense of the word, and far in advance of the old supra-naturalistic school of Tübingen, approaching a more positive, churchly and historical position. Of all his professors he exercised the deepest and most abiding influence upon William Julius Mann. All through his life he spoke of Dr. Schmidt with special reverence and gratitude, as the man to whom he was chiefly indebted for his theological training. "Dr. Schmidt," he says in his diary, several years after his graduation, "seems to me to be one of those rare men who understand that most difficult art of blending love and energy in true union."[1]

In his leisure hours he cultivated his æsthetical and poetical gifts, and the "disjecta membra poetæ" have been preserved in a neat little package containing some pretty poems, partly humorous, partly of an ideal flight, full of deep and tender feeling. Beside these he noted down, in the form of short aphorisms, some rich and pithy statements, showing a remarkably mature and thoughtful mind, pondering over the most solemn problems of the human heart and life. "Regeneration," he says in one of those leaflets, "might be represented as placing a bright, shining centre in the midst of the darkness of the sinful heart; sanctification as the growth of

[1] An excellent sketch of Dr. Schmidt is found in the "Deutsche Kirchenfreund," 1852, pp. 300 ff., written by Dr. Ph. Schaff.

that light-centre which gradually develops into a sun. The more it grows, the less it suffers the darkness of the former condition to surround it."

During his vacation days he was fond of traveling, enjoying the beauties of nature, the treasures of art and the memorable places of history beyond the limits of his own beautiful Württemberg. "I confess," he says, "that ever since my boyhood, I have been fond of traveling. When I was hardly six years of age, I paid a first visit from my Suabian home to Switzerland, across the lake of Constance, and had a narrow escape, with my father and brothers, because the steamer took fire on our homeward journey. When I was fifteen, I wandered over the long-stretched Württemberg Alb to ancient castles, the homes of native princes and of the imperial house of the Hohenstaufen. Soon afterwards, in company with a brother, I roamed over the hills and vales of the Black Forest as far as the lofty height of the Strasburg Cathedral. During my University years repeated holiday excursions into the mountains of Switzerland and the Tyrol as far as the plain of Lombardy and the Cathedral of Milan, enlarged my horizon. Our beloved river Rhine also was followed from his cradle in the glaciers, down to the level plains of his quiet senility." (*Kirchenfreund*, 1855, p. 273). The visit to Milan was, if we mistake not, the occasion for his first literary effort, which was published. He wrote a very happy description of the Cathedral, printed in 1843 in the *Jugendblætter* of Dr. Christian Gottlob Barth (1799–1862), the warm friend and advocate of missions, the editor of papers for the young and for the cause of foreign missions, and for many years the favorite speaker at the Basel anniversaries. His truly popular eloquence, his terse and pithy style, his happy mixture of tenderness and humor, seem to have had a special attraction for William Julius Mann, who, in many characteristic features, reminded his friends strongly of the celebrated Dr. Barth. It was Dr. Barth who encouraged him to write, but at the same time enjoined the rule: "Short sentences! Children have small lungs!" We may also in this

connection refer to a well-known saying of Dr. Barth, revealing the secret of his ability to master an almost incredible amount of work. When asked how he ever managed to accomplish so much, he said: "The matter is very simple: 1. I do one thing after another; 2. I work quickly; 3. What I am unable to take up, I do not touch. This is the whole secret." Those acquainted with Dr. Mann's way of working will easily recognize the same principles as those laid down by his old and venerable friend Barth.

II. FIRST WORK AS TEACHER AND PREACHER.

Immediately after his graduation, the young theologian accepted a position in a private boys' school kept by Dr. Hahn in the little town of Bönnigheim, Württemberg. He entered upon his work as a pedagogue with the full enthusiasm and energy of his nature, and the rich equipment of the excellent training which he had himself received. While he was strict and exacting in his demands on his pupils, and consequently often enough dissatisfied and provoked by their ignorance and laziness, he took special pains in studying their individuality, so that he might be sure to do justice to each one according to his own gifts and character. At the same time he was most severe in criticizing himself, in true humility esteeming all men better than himself. To work, and to work hard, was a real pleasure to him. When threatened once by a severe illness, he exclaims in his diary: "My God, do spare me from sickness! I am not a man that can lie still." At the same time he always strongly felt the need of social relaxation and the exhilarating and cheering influence of congenial friends and companions: "If I cannot at times have some real fun, I cannot work, and begin to feel quite uncomfortable."

In the midst of his duties as teacher, which he discharged with scrupulous fidelity, he continued his literary efforts. He wrote a little story called "Die Ansiedler in Amerika" (Settling in America), published by J. F. Steinkopf, Stuttgart, 1845. It was written in 1843, when he could not have enter-

tained the idea of coming himself to this country. And yet in this little novel of 117 pages he gives an excellent outline of the geography and history of the land which was so soon to become his home. The first chapter opens with the Lord's call to Abraham: "Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will show thee." And the very year in which this first little book of his was published, was the year of his arrival in America!

Even at this early age he composed with remarkable ease and rapidity. A few dates, taken from his diary, may serve as an illustration. On the 31st of October, 1843, he says: "I am trying to plan a little novel belonging to the Reformation era, but am still in the dark about it." On the following day, November 1st, he has settled on the whole outline of his tale, entitled "Xaverus Hammerschlag," and on the 2d of November he is writing away at the first pages. It was intended for the more advanced youth, pre-supposing some Christian experience. He was particularly anxious to be successful in the "psychological treatment of the characters." "This," he says, "I enjoy most." In March, 1844, this work was finished; but he was not satisfied with it, and thought it was not worth printing.

But, much as he liked the work of the educator, he soon shared in the experience of many other candidates of theology who, after completing their studies, began their practical life-work with teaching the young. The work did not give him thorough satisfaction. It was not, after all, the real ministerial work, for which he had been educated, and to which his natural gifts and talents pointed. It was his own desire, as well as that of his pious father, that he should be regularly engaged in ministerial work, in the position of an assistant (*vicarius*) to some pastor. The opportunity soon offered itself in that, while continuing in his position as teacher in the boys' school, he was appointed assistant by the head pastor of the town of Bönnigheim on February 5, 1844. His father was highly pleased with this appointment, and

sent him a copy of the Württemberg Agenda, together with his hearty congratulations. In those days the young candidates of the Lutheran Church in Württemberg were not regularly and fully ordained to the ministry. Ordination, in accordance with the strict Lutheran conception, was reserved for those who were called to a regular pastorate, and was connected with their installation in their first charge. Only since the year 1855 the ordination of candidates who are simply called and appointed as assistants (*vicarii*) of regular pastors, has been introduced. Before this, the young candidates, on entering upon their first "vicariat" had to take a solemn pledge, equivalent to an oath, before the superintendent of the diocese, or another pastor appointed by him. According to this order, William Julius Mann, on the 20th of February, 1844, solemnly pledged himself before "Diaconus" Zeller in Besigheim "to follow the Holy Scriptures as the rule of faith in his preaching and teaching, and never to deviate from the form of sound evangelical doctrine, as contained in the Augsburg Confession." "I gave him my hand," he says, "with whole-souled conviction."

From this time he is regularly engaged in the services of the sanctuary, particularly in preaching, for which he was so eminently gifted. He was very conscientious in the preparation of his sermons, but from the very beginning found it so pleasant and easy that he himself sometimes expresses his astonishment at the rapidity with which the work of sketching and writing out a sermon proceeded. With his excellent memory he never had any difficulty in committing them. This was attended to while he lay in bed at night. The people liked to hear him, and praised the shortness of his discourses. "In this," he says, "I at least hope to give satisfaction. Preaching long sermons is a bad thing,—as bad as preaching too often." On this, as on other points, he held decidedly his own views, and knew how to defend them against his colleagues. "I cannot dance to the piping of others if I know that their playing is false." He was convinced that there was too much preaching, while there was a

lack of really doctrinal sermons, over against the purely emotional. "We ought to have special catechizations for the adult members of the Church." In his own catechetical instruction his chief anxiety was, as the pious fathers in Halle, Spener and Francke, had often expressed it, that it should be a matter of the heart, and not of the head! "Oh, that I had lots of stories to illustrate each lesson, and could command many telling Bible passages!"

One of the most interesting features in the notations of his diaries of those days, is his special interest in the Middle Ages and a marked conservatism and outspoken appreciation of the liturgical part of the service. "The Middle Ages have always a special attraction for me," he says; "I am decidedly conservative in my principles. The old becomes more and more venerable in my estimation. Every change makes me suspicious."—After one of the week-day services, in which the Litany was commonly used in Württemberg, and which consisted simply in the reading of the Word and prayer, though a short exhortation was optional with the minister, he remarks: "I did not add one word to the Psalm. The beautiful Litany, which is long enough in itself, I tried to read as expressively as possible. Our congregations ought to be much better trained to the proper mode of true churchly prayers. They want to be preached to. Their intellectual and religious inertia has reached such a degree that they actually expect the preacher to chew the Word for them, in order that they should digest it. How can these things be improved? Shall we continue in this way, and preach on, confirming them in their old notion, that the word of the clergyman is the principal thing in the service, superior to the Word of God and the prayers of the Church? I do not believe this to be the right way. Thus the congregations will always cling to what is subjective, the individuality of the preacher, and there is a lack of the true churchly spirit, that spirit which prays for all and prays in all for the one salvation."

His soundness in the faith and his excellent theological train-

ing are demonstrated in an essay on the "Christology of St. Paul compared with that of the Epistles of St. John," which, according to the standing rule in the Württemberg Church, he had to submit to his superintendent, in 1844, as vicarius in Bönnigheim.

In the month of December, 1844, at the special request of Prelate von Klaiber, he became the assistant of Rev. Eytel, at Neuhausen, near Metzingen, in the beautiful Alb Valley, leading up to the ancient town of Urach. He was there until the 9th of July, 1845, and both the superintendent of the diocese and the pastor, whom he assisted, testify that he quickly gained general respect and confidence "by his refined manners, his truly Christian sermons and catechizations and his edifying visits to the sick."

III. COMING TO AMERICA.

But the time of his service to his native country and church was soon to come to an end, and the momentous question presented itself to him of leaving "his kindred and his father's house," and going to a far-off country, which the Lord was to show him. In the month of March, 1844, his intimate friend and former schoolmate, Philip Schaff, left for America, having received a call to a professorship in Mercersburg, Pa. "He goes cheerfully to America," says the diary of William Julius Mann, "and wants me to follow him as soon as possible. I am soon to have a call from a Reformed Congregation. If it should come, would I accept it?"

A few months later the question was put to him by his American friend if he would be willing to accept a professorship of German Literature and History at the College in Mercersburg, if such a call should be extended to him. In a letter written January 31st, 1845, he declares himself ready, with the full consent of his parents to follow such a call, and expresses a desire to have popular lectures on chemistry, physics and geology, included in his work.

In May 1845, Dr. Ph. Schaff wrote to him from his Western home: "If I were in your position, I would not, with my

knowledge of America, hesitate to come to this country. In Württemberg candidates are anxiously looking out for congregations; here congregations are longing for candidates. There you are hemmed in on all sides in your work, here we have absolute freedom. True, this is poison for those who serve the flesh, but it is a heavenly gift for those who know how to use it for the honor of God and the building up of His Kingdom. There it looks like autumn; here every thing is fresh and green. I admit there is still a terrible chaos in all church matters, but we have here an immense material for a grand, new epoch in the history of the Church. The Germans, especially in the West, are in the worst condition; they are consequently most in need of help, and the future of this republic depends in great measure on the proper training and Christianizing of our countrymen. This the Anglo-Americans themselves begin to see, and they look, therefore, with greatest interest upon every thing that is done among the Germans and for the Germans. Even if the German professorship should come to nothing, you would be a most useful man as a German pastor. Of course one cannot expect just to settle down for a comfortable life in a congregation. But the men that have no courage and delight in denying themselves and suffering for the Lord's sake, are unfit for the ministry in the Old World as well as in the New. Whoever is filled with missionary zeal and ready to be satisfied with little in the beginning, not afraid of any kind of deprivations and sacrifices and willing to gather the scattered Germans into congregations, finds here an immense field of labor and will become a blessing to thousands. It is really a shame that in Germany there are so many candidates standing idle in the marketplace, whilst here multitudes of their countrymen are wandering about like sheep without a shepherd or are falling a prey to ravening wolves. Come over and help us! I do not mean to urge you, on account of the responsibility I would have to assume. For the same reason I do not hold out brilliant prospects to you. The life of the Christian here as well as with you, is a chain of self-denials and sacrifices and in the

New World the principle rules as well as in the Old, that we must through much tribulation enter into the Kingdom of God. Those candidates who look upon the ministerial office simply as the cow which is to furnish them with milk and butter, had better stay in Germany. They would only create trouble in this country and would be disappointed in finding the cow not as fat as they expected. For, God be praised, the people here have sufficient taste and judgment, to find the gospel more interesting than the diluted common morality and respectability of rationalism. But I am confident that if you come, you will come with a missionary spirit, and will never lose sight of that great and glorious aim, the building up of the Kingdom of God and the training of the young. May God put His counsel into your heart and overrule all for yourself and your dear ones to the honor of His glorious name."

Long before this letter reached him, Wm. Julius Mann had made up his mind, to follow his friend to America. In July 1845, he left Neuhausen and spent a few weeks with his family in Stuttgart. His brother Adolph had decided to become a missionary and had entered the missionary institute in Basel, and consequently the parents had to give up two sons at the same time, one for America, the other as a missionary whose life-work was to be in Africa. But they made the double sacrifice, though with bleeding hearts, yet with the full assurance that it was the Lord's way and will. For His sake they were ready and willing to part from their beloved sons. It was a parting for life from the father, as far as Julius was concerned, but to the loving mother a reunion with both sons was granted shortly before her death.

August the 16th, Wm. Julius Mann left Stuttgart together with his brother Adolph, who, on his way to Basel, accompanied him as far as Strassburg. The original plan had been to travel via Bremen, but it was changed to the route Strassburg-Paris-Havre, in order to have the company of a young alumnus of the Missionary Institute of Basel, J. G. Zahner, whose destination was also Mercersburg. Paris was reached

on the 19th. After a week's sojourn, the travellers continued on their way to Havre via Rouen. On the 9th of September they embarked in the "Havre," and on the 9th of October they landed in New York, where Mr. Mann was cordially welcomed by Gustav Schwab.

From there the journey was continued via Philadelphia to York, where the Reformed Synod was in session from the 16th to the 23d of October. There he met his friend, Dr. Schaff, and made the acquaintance of Dr. Nevin and other coryphees of the German Reformed Church. On the 24th, Mercersburg was reached, for the present the end of his wanderings.

IV. IN THE GERMAN REFORMED CHURCH.

The expectation of having a professorship established in Mercersburg, which would have connected him permanently with those institutions of the Reformed Church, was not realized. But during the few months of his sojourn there he delivered lectures to the students on German Literature and Universal History. His treatment of the latter made a deep and lasting impression on his hearers, and a number of them requested him to allow them to translate his manuscript for publication in the English language. This encouraged him to continue the work down to the time of the French Revolution. Of this "Manual of Universal History," a few fragments were published in the *Mercersburg Review* of September and November 1849 and January 1850. The translation was made by J. S. E. (Ermentrout) but did not give much satisfaction to the author of the original.

Before the close of his first year in America, he received a call to the German Reformed Salem's Congregation in Philadelphia, as assistant of its aged pastor, Dr. Bibighaus, whose acquaintance he had made at the Synod in York. On the 18th day of January, 1846, his father's birthday, he preached his first sermon in Salem's Church, and on May 17th, 1846, he was formally ordained by Rev. F. Bibighaus and Rev. C. R. Kessler. For nearly four years he served in that congregation, drawing

large audiences by his eloquent sermons, and discharging faithfully the arduous duties of his position. The burden of all the ministerial work soon fell upon him, and in spite of his willingness and indefatigable zeal he sometimes found it almost too much for his strength. "Oh, the many words with so few thoughts," he lamented once at a Christmas season, when he had nine sermons to preach in eleven days. The truth is, he was, at the very outset, in danger of being over-worked and consequently a feeling of discouragement and loneliness sometimes overtook him. This depression was aggravated by the lack of congenial and sympathizing friends which was deeply felt by him during his first years in Philadelphia. It is true, Dr. Demme, the revered pastor of St. Michael's and Zion's Lutheran Congregations and the recognized leader of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, could not fail to appreciate the talents and the high character of the rising young theologian, even at the time when he belonged to Salem's Church. From the very beginning of their acquaintance he treated him with great kindness and showed him special confidence. But weeks and sometimes months passed without their meeting, and the modesty and delicacy of Mr. Mann's feelings made him carefully avoid anything that might have been construed as looking to his own future interests in cultivating Dr. Demme's friendship. He would not listen to outside offers, but faithfully stood at his post, though his impression was, that he was laboring in vain for better churchly ways and order, against a spirit of Methodism with its narrowness and superficiality, which pervaded the congregation. Many did not understand his preaching at all; others, while they helped to swell his audiences, would not do anything for the church and the congregation. "The life of an American pastor," he wrote in these days to his friend Dr. Schaff, is truly "a lamentation." "Scripture saith that it is good for a man to bear the yoke in his youth, but then they counted men of 70 and 80 years fresh and young like Abraham and Methuselah. For I see, the bearing of the yoke will hardly cease before we reach these years."

In May 1849, he was chosen to represent his classis at the meeting of Synod. He was deeply impressed with this appointment, not as a gratification of personal ambition, but as an illustration of the peculiar and magnetic character of his adopted country, which proved such a power of assimilating strange elements and putting them to useful work. He also recognized in his election an evidence, that the more conservative, churchly and historical views which had of late obtained in the Reformed Church had a fair prospect of holding their own against more subjective and fanatical tendencies.

The process of Americanization in the best sense of the word, was rather rapid in his case, and in that of his friend Dr. Schaff, as we may readily understand, considering the solid learning, the broad culture, the wide horizon and the thorough philosophical training which both brought with them to America. Nor did he even at that early stage of his American life escape the scathing criticism of those who held it to be the duty of all true Germans in America to unite in building the grand dome of a Utopian New Germany. In 1845, a brother of the famous Dr. Hengstenberg in Berlin, Candidate Edward Hengstenberg, visited this country. Mr. Mann met him in Mercersburg and was well pleased with a sermon which he heard him preach there. In March 1847, the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* contained the following reference to Mr. Mann from the pen of said Candidate of Theology: "Many, even among those who brought a solid German education to America, and at first most decidedly and powerfully stood up for the German interests, afterward, if not downright renegades, become more and more lukewarm, gradually yielding to the American influences, by which they are surrounded. As an illustration of the power which the American mind exercises over Germans of solid education, the writer refers to one of his American acquaintances. He arrived in America at the same time with him. He was a Württemberg theologian, of thorough theological and philosophical training, a gentleman of high intellect, a genius, who did his own thinking, and at the same time 'gemütlich,' after

the German, yea, Suabian type. The writer met him again after the lapse of a year, to find that he had taken a completely American turn, all his sympathies were with American ways; even to his tongue, English came more readily than German (!). He continually addressed the writer, in spite of his protest against this treason (!), in the English language, yea, to mention this characteristic feature, he even spoke English in his sleep." (*Evang. Kirchenzeitung*, 1847. P. 244).

V. LITERARY WORK. THE KIRCHENFREUND.

More satisfaction than in the pastoral work of the Reformed congregation, was found by Mr. Mann in the literary activity to which he was stimulated by Dr. Schaff, as a contributor and co-editor of the monthly "*Deutcher Kirchenfreund*," from 1848 to 1859. It was indeed a bold enterprise on which these two enthusiastic young German Theologians launched out, the one Reformed, the other Lutheran, both loving each other and loving their Lord, both beginners in this new country, thoroughly imbued with what was best in German Theology, and at the same time warm admirers of America and true prophets of her great future in the history of nations and of the kingdom of God. In these days of first-class printing facilities all around, we can hardly realize even the mechanical difficulties against which that devoted and self-forgetting *par nobile fratrum* struggled. More than once it happened, that Dr. Schaff had to take the compositor's place when in the little country town of Mercersburg no capable workman could be found! And where were the German readers educated enough to enjoy and appreciate such a monthly? Where the clergymen of sufficient theological and philosophical training to understand and support the mission of this journal, which, while equally unsatisfactory to a strict confessionalism, and an unprincipled indifferentism, proposed to be a real friend of all that was truly churchly in the German Churches of America? Though the well-known unionistic motto: "*In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas*," might frighten off some scrupulous churchmen,

there is no gainsaying that the "*Deutscher Kirchenfreund*" did some splendid work in the interest of a truly conservative Christianity everywhere and particularly among the Lutherans, whom it beckoned back to their historical rock from which they were hewn, and whom it warned most faithfully against the hollow pretensions of American Pseudo-Lutheranism. The *Kirchenfreund* was followed in 1849 by the *Mercersburg Review*, that strong exponent of a historical catholic Protestantism. Dr. Nevin, the leading spirit of that movement, was intimate with Mr. Mann, and greatly admired by him as a "true German theologian." Several of Mr. Mann's articles for the *Kirchenfreund* were also published in the *Mercersburg Review* (Ecclesiastical Tendencies, July 1850, The Immigration, November 1850). Both the *Kirchenfreund* and *Mercersburg Review* assisted in paving the way for the "*Evangelical Review*," which also appeared in 1849, the first timid swallow announcing the approach of a new spring-time of conservative Lutheranism in the East.

As early as January 1847, Mr. Mann encouraged his friend in Mercersburg and promised vigorous assistance in the new undertaking. But at the same time, faithful to his lifelong principle: "Not to go into the water beyond his depth," he freely expressed also his fears and doubts, whether the whole thing was not somewhat premature. Besides, his preference was for a political paper, weekly or daily, read by thousands and tens of thousands, and teaching them to read the daily events of history with the eyes of a Christian. But waiving his personal opinions, he entered heart and soul upon the work of writing for the *Kirchenfreund*, with "the pen of a ready writer," as he often said.

He opened his contributions with a series of not less than nine ponderous articles on the "Church of the Present Time" (February, 1848, to July, 1849). During the twelve years of his connection with the *Kirchenfreund*—half of this time as editor-in-chief—his papers cover probably the widest range of subjects ever treated in such a journal by one man. Here we find from year to year a most comprehensive and instruc-

tive survey of the whole *political* constellation of the time, no event of any importance and significance in the *historical* development at home or abroad being overlooked; there are *literary* sketches (Schiller, 1859); *philosophical* (Jacob Boehm, 1853; Schelling, 1854), and *theological* essays, including every branch of that wide field. We give only a few illustrations from the different departments: *Exegetical* (Romans 1 to 7, 1858); *dogmatical* (Thoughts on the Doctrine of the Church, 1857); *ethical* (Religion, Nature and Matrimony, 1859; Christianity and the Theatre, 1857); *church-historical* (The Peace of Augsburg of 1555, 1855; The Ecclesiastical and Religious Condition of Württemberg, 1855; History of the Jews after Christ, 1859); *liturgical* (The New Lutheran Hymn-book of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, 1850; Liturgy or Extempore Prayer in Public Service? 1853; The German Reformed Church and the Liturgical Question, 1858; On the History of Confirmation, 1856); *pastoral* (Theses on Ordination, 1854; Synods, 1854; Pastoral Conferences, 1857); *congregational* (Pew-renting, 1856; Church Choirs, 1855); *catechetical* (Catechization, 1858); *devotional* (Bible Pictures, 1849; Spiritual Crumbs, 1850; The Unjust Steward, 1855); *apologetical and polemical* (The German Press in America, 1850; Christmas and the American Presbyterian, 1857); *educational* (Universities and their Influence on the National Life, 1852; The Amalgamation of National Traits, 1855; German and English, 1856).

Well might Dr. Schaff, at the close of the first year, pay a glowing tribute to the friend in these touching words: "With deep emotion and with adoration of the wonderful ways of God, we record our special thanks to one of our contributors, in whose company years ago we wandered through the cheerful scenes of Hellas and Latium and the sombre halls of German philosophy and theology. The early bonds of friendship have lasted beyond the days of Stuttgart and of Tübingen. The simple, great word with which we parted ten years ago: 'The Lord be between me and Thee,' has been our guiding star; and now—*per varios casus, per tot*

discrimina rerum—we are united again in the new world for new work in 'the Church of the Present,' for new hopes for the Church of the future. Under the guidance of the Lord the former home has become strange to us, and the strange land has become a home. The Church of the living God, who has a great people even in America, is truly the believers' fatherland; wherever it is, there the spring of life pours forth, there the arch of peace stretches its bow, there the gates of heaven are opened." (K. Frd., 1848, pp. 382, 383.)

VI. IN ST. MICHAEL'S AND ZION'S CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

During Mr. Mann's pastorate in Salem's Reformed Congregation he often had among his hearers many of the most prominent and active members of St. Michael's and Zion's Lutheran congregation. The families with whom he became more intimately acquainted and in whose homes he enjoyed his few hours of leisure and recreation, such as the Schmauks and the Rommels, belonged to the Lutheran Church. His theological and pastoral associations and sympathies had all along been more with Dr. Demme than with the pastors of the Reformed Church. He had repeatedly preached for Dr. Demme and for Rev. G. A. Reichert in St. Paul's and St. Michael's, and consequently his gifts as a pulpit orator were well known and highly appreciated in the old congregation. His own theological position had always been essentially Lutheran, though, of course, in the beginning not as clearly defined and strongly pronounced as it grew under the influence of subsequent conflicts. In looking around for a suitable assistant for Dr. Demme, it was only natural that the vestry of Zion's congregation should think of Mr. Mann, whom they all knew, and whose personal relations to Dr. Demme were of the most pleasant character. On the 18th of September, "being fully convinced that Mr. Mann was animated by the spirit of our Lutheran Church," and "having learned that he would be willing to join the Synod of Pennsylvania," the vestry of the Lutheran Mother Church of Philadelphia unanimously elected him assistant pastor. Octo-

ber 7th he presented his resignation to Dr. Biebighaus. On October 15th he informed the President of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania of the call he had received, saying that he would apply for admission to the Ministerium at the next convention. With reference to his former connection with the Reformed Church, he says: This step had been taken "out of consideration for a dear friend, who felt assured that I would not be expected to do anything against my conscience and my conviction. With my present knowledge of church matters in this country, there are other and higher considerations which lead me to embrace an opportunity of joining again the Evangelical Lutheran Church; and it is the desire of my heart to serve this church in which I was born, and to which I owe my training and education, as the Lord in His goodness will give me strength and wisdom." Having received a favorable reply from President Richards, he at once announced to the vestry of Zion's Church his acceptance of their call. On the 4th of November he preached his first sermon in Zion's Church, on 2 Tim. 2: 3, and four years afterwards, when Rev. G. A. Reichert resigned (January, 1854), he was elected regular pastor of the congregation by a vote of 237 (Easter Monday, 1854). His solemn installation took place on April 23d, when Dr. Demme, with a heart overflowing with joy, and with touching and eloquent words, presented him to the congregation as his full colleague in the ministry of that historical church. He was, in a direct line from the Patriarch Muhlenberg, the fifth pastor of that congregation. It is a remarkable fact that all the prominent pastors of that church served it for about the period of one whole generation. Muhlenberg, Demme and Mann, the three greatest of them, covered a century with their ministrations in the old church. And what an amount of time and physical endurance the pastoral work required at that time, when the members of the congregation were scattered over the whole territory of the large city, and the pastor had to be in every quarter without the easy and comfortable street-car facilities which we now enjoy! His diary mentions almost

incredible feats of pastoral work performed in those days: Six miles of walking besides the two sermons on a Sunday when the thermometer ranged from 93 to 100 degrees in the shade! 12, yea 16 funerals in one week! Once 5 in one day! No wonder that during the summer of 1853, when Dr. Demme was in Europe for the restoration of his health, Mr. Mann was prostrated with sickness during the months of July and August. Fortunately Rev. C. Guenther, a young candidate of theology from Württemberg, whose acquaintance Mr. Mann had made at the meeting of the General Synod in Winchester, was willing to remain in Philadelphia, instead of going to Berlin, as his intention had been, to act as Mr. Mann's assistant. During the few months of his service he won the affection and confidence of the congregation to such a degree that he would have been elected assistant pastor on Mr. Reichert's resignation; but he felt himself bound to return to the service of his native church in Württemberg.

Mr. Mann's work in Zion's congregation may best be told in his own words, as he described it in his farewell sermon, preached November 16, 1884: I am bold to say that I took up my work among you with joy and cheerfulness. And you yourselves gave me much encouragement in it. There was, indeed, no lack of work. As assistant pastor, my Sunday services only consisted in catechization and sermon in the afternoon and evening. During the winter (1850 to 1851), on Sunday mornings, I crossed over to Camden, and began to preach in a hall there for the German Lutherans of that city. It was, indeed, a small and weak beginning. But afterwards it grew into a flourishing congregation, now in charge of the Rev. J. Dizinger. Here in Philadelphia our congregation was constantly growing, inasmuch as German immigration was particularly strong in those days. The congregation extended at that time over the whole city. Its members lived not only in the central part, where old Zion's and the still older St. Michael's Church were located, but also in the north, south and west. In the "Northern Liberties," where in 1830 St. Paul's Church was erected, with regular Sunday

services, long before this, parish schools with several divisions had been established as in connection with the other churches. Afterwards such schools were established in the territory where, in 1856, St. James' Church was built by our congregation; likewise in the southern part of the city, as also in the western section at Fairmount Avenue and Thirteenth Street. All these schools had to be visited, and their affairs had to be considered and attended to in the meetings of the School Committee. Besides, the members of the congregation lived in all parts of the city, and, as far as I know, no one ever has charged me with neglecting my sick. There were at that time no facilities as at present for riding through this large city; and I have surely made hundreds of miles on foot in every direction. . . .

There has been no lack of care and toil through all these years. Between 1850 and 1860, Philadelphia was repeatedly ravaged by cholera. The yellow fever also demanded its victims in the southern sections of the city. I remember, that in one year I attended two hundred and sixty-six funerals; once sixteen in one week, while four others had to be refused for want of time. Once in a cold winter-afternoon I had four coffins[1] before me in the cemetery, those persons having died of spotted fever, which was at that time the scourge of the northeastern part of the city. Often enough in the discharge of my pastoral duties, have I come into contact with all kinds of diseases but never have I been attacked. I say this here because there are still found such unreasonable people who think, that a pastor has nothing to do through the week but prepare his sermon for Sunday, and then his work is done.

In the course of years a new and important duty arose for our congregation, which had grown to be very large. Our schools had become an attraction to many, inducing parents to join the congregation. They certainly did a great deal of good to many children, and the congregation had teachers in them whose memory will be blessed for ever. But it was becoming more and more difficult, to govern in peace and quiet-

[1] The diary says "five."

ness this large congregation, spread over the whole city and to provide properly for its spiritual wants and improvement. The members living around the schools in the different sections of the city soon found the way too far to the churches in the centre of the city. They were anxious to have their own churches. It is well known that the immigrant population, especially in our large cities, is not blessed with means, particularly in those first years when the start is made in the New World. Ground and material for building, as well as labor, are very expensive. The outcome was, that the congregation bought the cemetery in Hart Lane, which is at present used by our German Lutheran congregations of Philadelphia, while the old cemeteries belonging to the congregation were evacuated and sold; the one in Fifth and Cherry around old St. Michael's Church had become available already in the beginning of the fifties; the other covered the ground on which our new Zion's Church stands together with the adjoining houses from Franklin to Eighth street. With the money realized by these sales, St. Paul's Church, and St. Johannis at Fifteenth and Ogden—also the church on Fourth and Carpenter street were provided for; they all have now their own beautiful churches and are flourishing, independent congregations. Old Zion's Church and old St. Michael's were also sold, and on Sunday, September 11th, 1870, we solemnly entered this new and beautiful house of God. (Zion's Church in Franklin Square).

My idea had been, that after the division of the large congregation into its different sections, the new congregations, had been accomplished in 1867,—and this was really the most significant event in the nearly 150 years of its history—only a small fraction of the whole would remain for my pastoral ministrations. But I was mistaken in this, as in many other things. Certainly our new Zion's Church is a large building, and to me it seemed somewhat too large. But I rejoiced in my heart on seeing it nicely filled. Many people joined us only at this time; and many dear old members, whole families, who lived at a great distance from the church, were unwilling to

leave the old congregation to which they had been attached so long.

It is a matter of course that one cannot forget a congregation to which thirty-four years of work, the best strength of our life, have been given. Much less is this possible, if one has been happy in the midst of such a congregation. And this has been my case among you, particularly during the last seventeen years, since we formed a separate congregation for ourselves. When I remember how I went out and in among you, my soul is filled with love to you and gratitude toward God. I was deeply moved, when, some time ago, an old and faithful member of the congregation said to me: "We find it so hard to part from you, because you have been to us not only our pastor but also the friend of our house." And I have been kindly received wherever I went and knocked at the door. A thousand times I shared with you your hours of happiness and your days of sorrow; the pastor being particularly called upon, to rejoice with them that do rejoice and to weep with them that weep. Looking back upon the thirty-four years of my work among you, the question proposes itself: "What have I really accomplished during this long period? What is in reality the result and gain for eternity?" And this question is enough to humble me and bow me down and take away any inclination to glory. And yet, I may say, that while in younger years I had no special desire for preaching, I have been most happy in this particular function of my ministerial office. The Apostle truly says, "If a man desire the office of a bishop he desireth a good work." I know it and may testify to it as a matter of fact, that in no other calling I would have had the same inward satisfaction, which I enjoyed in my office as preacher and pastor. Whether you understand me or not, I know, that in the pulpit I spent my happiest hours. It is a most glorious privilege to testify of the unspeakable love of God, to encourage the souls of men to take hold of Christ by faith and to walk in the way of life. There lies behind us all that is temporal, worldly, vain and perishable, deceptive and charming to the senses. There the

power of truth and of the eternal takes hold of us. The treasures of the word of God are opened up to us, and we drink of the water springing up into everlasting life.

VII. IN THE MINISTERIUM OF PENNSYLVANIA.

On June 17th, 1851, at Allentown, Pa., Wm. Julius Mann, together with the Rev. Dr. C. F. Schaefer, was received into the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania, which at that time numbered some seventy pastors. The Synod was not long in recognizing the value of the acquisition made by his reception, and beginning with that very year we find that there was no position of confidence and prominence in Synod, to which his ministerial brethren did not cheerfully call him. On the most important points the action of Synod was framed and moved by him. He was charged with an explanation of Luther's Catechism, known afterwards under the name of the Benner Catchism (1851). During the winter 1862 to 1863, in company with his intimate friend, the Rev. G. F. Krotel, who, to his great joy had accepted a call to St. Mark's English Lutheran Church in Philadelphia, he prepared another, fuller exposition which was and still is widely used by our pastors in their catechetical instruction. He did the principal work in the preparation of the prayers for families and individuals, appended to the Pennsylvania Liturgy of 1855. For many years he was chairman of the Examining Committee. In 1854 he was nominated by the Synod and afterwards unanimously elected by the Board of Directors, as German Professor in Gettysburg. He was himself appointed one of the Directors of the Theological Seminary in Gettysburg, which position he resigned in 1859. He was a member of the Committee for the German Liturgy and also of the so-called Orphan Committee; later on for many years a faithful Trustee of the Orphans' Home in Germantown. In his office as Archivarius he brought order into the chaotic mass of Synodical papers from the last century to the present time, and arranged them in the most systematic manner, so that it has become an easy and pleasant task for the students

of our history to handle and investigate any of those important documents. In 1860, as a comparatively young man among many aged fathers he was elected President, and most vigorously did he in his very first official report stand up for order, discipline, and loyalty to the cause of Lutheranism, as will be seen from the following extract:

"As long as the constitutions of many congregations open the way to ecclesiastical and official irregularities; as long as our church members have unsettled views in regard to what are sound Lutheran and churchly principles in faith and practice, and in regard to the best measures for effectually promoting the kingdom of God; as long as ministers differ so widely among themselves in important questions relating to the sacred office, and to what is becoming to bearers of the same; as long as the parts appeal to their rights and liberties, in opposition to the whole and to its spirit, and even threaten to secede, at pleasure, from Synod; and finally, as long as our Conferences do not exercise an authoritative influence in regulating the order and adjusting the local difficulties of the congregations belonging to them; it will be in vain to expect that the office of the President, which in the nature of the case is deprived of all executive power, will be able to protect the Synod in the vigorous maintenance of order and the true spirit of Lutheranism, no matter what additional prerogatives you may secure to it."

In the difficult and delicate questions concerning the confessional position of the Synod and the rights of German and English, he endeavored to act as a mediator between extreme tendencies, faithful to the principle, which we often heard from his lips: "Republics are governed by compromises," and which, in those earlier years, he was willing also to apply not only to questions of ecclesiastical policy, but even to the doctrinal and confessional standing of the Ministerium. In 1852 Synod had appointed a committee to report "on the sense in which this Body employs the expression 'Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church.'" At the meeting in Reading, 1853, Dr. C. F. Schaefer reported in behalf of this committee.

He gave an extended historical account of the Confessions and of the relation of the Church to them, and closed the report with a resolution, embodying an obligation to the Confessions, clear, unequivocal and without reserve. The great body of the members were prepared for themselves to adopt it, but regard to the consciences of weaker brethren made them hesitate. At this point Mr. Mann acted as mediator for the time, offering some resolutions which, while expressing a high estimate of the Confessions, did not really give them a positively obligatory character. They were unanimously adopted. Dr. C. F. Schaefer in his bitter disappointment comforted himself with the thought, that the action of Synod was "suited to a state of reconvalescence, and a flattering indication that the Apostles' strong meat could soon be safely substituted for milk." (See memorial of Chas. Fred. Schaefer, D.D., published by the Alumni Association, 1880. Also "The Confession of the Evangelical Lutheran Church," by Chas. F. Schaeffer, D.D., *Evangelical Review*, Oct. 1853, Page 189, ff.)

In 1856 Mr. Mann presented to the Ministerium an important paper "On the Ministerial Office," in which he took strong ground against the system of Licensure as heretofore practiced in Synod, proving its unscriptural and unlutheran character. This led to the abolishment of this whole institution on the motion of Rev. G. F. Krotel (1857) "That in future the Ministerium consist only of ordained ministers, and all worthy applicants be admitted to ordination."

VIII. IN THE GENERAL SYNOD.

In 1853, two years after Mr. Mann's reception into the Synod of Pennsylvania, this body resumed its official connection with the General Synod, and during the short period of this reunion, 1853–1866, we find his name prominent among the delegates who represented the Ministerium of Pennsylvania at the conventions of the General Synod. He was elected in 1853 for the meeting in Winchester, Va. The journey to and first sight of Virginia, the entertainment in Mr. Jacob Baker's family, the intercourse with Drs. Chas. Philip Krauth and

H. I. Schmidt were a source of much delight to him. He seemed inclined to take rather a hopeful view of the prospects of Lutheranism within the General Body which certainly at that time was nearer than ever to the realization of those ardent expectations, which looked for a speedy union of all Lutherans in one common organization. "There is," says his diary, "a great deal of indefiniteness and obscurity on distinctive Lutheran principles, with an undeniable desire for unity. The Methodistic tendency is declining and the leaders of that movement are losing their influence." To Dr. Ph. Schaff he writes (see *Kirchenfreund*, 1853, p. 282): "I rejoiced before over the reunion of our old Pennsylvania Synod with the General Synod, and now I rejoice even more. The value of the thing I do not find in the resolutions of the General Synod whatever they may be. It is at any rate without truly organizing authority. Nor do I fail to appreciate the important influence which this body must exercise through its missionary and education society. There must be a greater future for the General Synod and the Lutheran Church, if calmness, dignity, forbearance and charity will continue to reign. For the present the most important thing to me is the influence which such an assembly of representatives of so many parts of the Lutheran Church in this country must exercise in itself. Such a large convention impresses you with the importance of the Lutheran branch on the tree of God's kingdom. It inspires courage to see such a concentration of prominent, personal abilities. You find that the Church commands a considerable force of intelligence, culture, learning and talent. You feel that however much they may differ in their personal aims and preferences, they are all one in their hearty love for the Church of Luther. Brethren have an opportunity of mingling in close intercourse and coming to a better understanding, and whoever has his eyes opened and is able to compare the past and the present may learn within a few days, to his astonishment, which direction the main current of churchly Lutheran life will take in the future. Altogether there is abundant opportunity given in these days to find out

the folly of those, who while in vain trying to hold on to extreme positions, spend their strength in favor of stereotyping certain things in the Church which have outlived themselves within one generation. The narrow traditional conceptions of Christianity are a thing of the past. The Church of Christ must not be turned either into a Procrustean bed, nor into a couch of laziness. We can certainly observe on all sides a spirit of inquiry after clear, solid principles for a truly religious and churchly life. And we find in it a testimony that Protestantism is able to renew its strength, because it does not acknowledge, either in life or in doctrine, the miserable principle of perfection which excludes improvement. If I may add one word yet with reference to our transactions in Winchester, I must say that they were pervaded by a delightful spirit of dignity and charity which springs from the fact that we breathe a higher life, that we are conscious of the sacredness of our cause and that we mutually respect each other."

At the next convention of the General Synod in Dayton, Ohio (1855), Mr. Mann was present, not however as a delegate, but simply as a visitor for about two days. He wrote a very full account of his impressions in the *Kirchenfreund* (*Blaetter aus dem Wanderbuche*, 1855, p. 385 f.): "I have no desire," he says, "to add anything to the judgments of praise or blame bestowed upon this convention. If denominationalism is a praise, it has proved itself highly worthy of it. These people mean it well enough with the Lutheran Church after their own fashion. They are anxious that she should be improved by enlarging her territory as much as possible; that nothing should be lost of the material which she can claim by right of history and nationality, but that her members should be gathered, missionary work carried on among them, congregations organized and churches built. There is a great zeal to expand the denomination, to make it large and respectable as it naturally ought to be considering the vast material of immigrant and native Lutherans. But alas! as if the 'nomen' were everything! Certainly the name is the most characteristic feature of the General Synod. It is simply used as the watchword for a

party, and being less concerned about the Lutheran character of the doctrinal principles thus adopted, some take their correctness for granted without further examination, while others even revel in the delightful confidence of having corrected the Lutheran Church. The majority of pastors have never made an independent study of the dogmatical peculiarities of the Lutheran Church. They are, according to American custom, completely dependent on the views of the teachers to whom they owe their theological education. If these teachers themselves have strayed away from the peculiarly Lutheran doctrine, anything is offered as Lutheran doctrine, that with the slightest modification might just as well go forth into the world under any other name. Thus it happened, that through the lamentable lack of Lutheran educational institutions in this country, the Lutheran Church was most insufficiently represented as to her spirit and doctrine. She had to suffer greatly through foreign influences, which were neither German nor Lutheran, and against which she could not properly defend herself. She seemed to be judged and defeated, before she had even opened her mouth, and, we are sorry to say, in those days even in the German Fatherland, things had taken such a turn that the most hollow rationalism still boasted of Luther's name. But now a desire gradually manifested itself to gain popularity for the Lutheran Church in this country. The hard dogmatical knots of the old Lutheran oak were to give way under the Puritan plane. The body was deprived of its bones and its heart and the empty skin might be filled with whatever was most pleasing, if only the Lutheran name was retained! The statement of the seventh article of the Augsburg Confession, that "unto the true unity of the Church it is not necessary that human traditions, rites or ceremonies instituted by men should be alike everywhere," was most extensively used, and in their desire to make the Lutheran Church as nearly as possible like others, her leaders were much more ready to adopt foreign elements than to retain her own distinctive features. Thus the Liturgy, the ancient lessons of Gospels and Epistles, the festivals of the Church Year, the gown

and other usages were given up, in order to keep the peculiar and distinctive features of the Lutheran Church in the background. Hoping to gain others they lost themselves. The Lutheran Church had given away her own spirit, and that was paramount to her own original life and character.

"The more we present to ourselves a true picture of the history of the Lutheran Church in this country, the more do we find this development natural. No one is particularly to be blamed. It is the common misfortune of times and circumstances. Least of all should we discredit the labor and merit of those who tried to obtain for the Lutheran Church educational institutions[1] of her own and thus to secure her future. It was a beginning such as the circumstances permitted. But if at the present time men bar themselves against the great change which has taken place in the life of the Church; if they oppose the self-consciousness of their Church and her assertion of her own original individuality; if they fail to appreciate the exegetical and dogmatical deepening of the present positive theology; particularly if, from conceit or indolence, they ignore the blessing which God in this sphere has given to the German Church and to the churchly theology of our days, they incur a great responsibility. And certainly the manner in which during the past decade even the Lutheran Church, neglecting her own particular blessings and aping that which was foreign to her, tried to 'make Christianity and Christians,' has found its own condemnation with all its improper extravagances, and the moral judgment of everybody ought to refuse henceforth to sing the praises of those measures. Now, if the General Synod of the Lutheran Church would understand this present time, if it would not resist the churchly current, but raise its voice in the spirit of true Lutheranism and lay down principles by which it would confess itself as truly Lutheran, without ignoring or destroying the characteristic features of Lutheranism, it would have a much greater moral weight and could become a centre of strong and far-

[1] Such as the College and the Theological Seminary in Gettysburg, which owe so much to the labors of Dr. S. S. Schmucker.

reaching influence. To give expression to certain general Christian principles, may be sufficient as a confession of adherence to Christianity at large, but it is far from satisfactory where the connection with a distinct historical Church is at stake.

"Will the General Synod ever come to this? Or should we keep aloof from it until it has come to this? We cannot expect a sudden change. Is there then no blessing whatever in it? Or is the position of our so called Old Lutherans the only possible and correct one? They came to this country from a state of oppression and even persecution in their German homes. No wonder that some bitterness has grown up here and there. Now they are here; no one oppresses them. They find a Lutheran Church which has managed to keep alive under the most unfavorable circumstances. Having had no strictly Lutheran organization from the very beginning, she has lost much that is Lutheran under a powerful pressure from without. Now they repel their sister who has grown up under such influences. They have themselves passed through many a sad and humiliating experience; but they at the same time are in advance of us in strict adherence to the confession, churchly practices, discipline, etc. But now they have no patience with their weaker sister, no charitable regard for her historical and other surroundings; they utterly refuse to have communion with her. They recognize in her neither a Lutheran Confession, nor Synod, nor congregation. They act as if there had never been a Lutheran Church in this country before their arrival. Brethren, is this the right way? Thus we remain strangers to each other, instead of the stronger ones showing patience with the weakness of their weaker brethren, and having an influence for good upon them by their sympathy and assistance. Besides, with such absolute seclusion, as men are, there will also be found human erring through a one-sidedness and harshness which is contrary to the spirit of the Gospel."

As the paper from which the above extracts are taken was passing through the press, Mr. Mann received a little anony-

mous pamphlet which created a great commotion in the Lutheran Church of those days, and which, if we are not very much mistaken, had a very decided influence upon Mr. Mann himself, in developing his own Lutheran consciousness and bringing him forward as an outspoken champion of the Lutheran Confession without reserve and compromise. The pamphlet in question was the "Definite Platform, Doctrinal and Disciplinarian, for Evangelical Lutheran District Synods; constructed in accordance with the principles of the General Synod." Every sentence of the work, as the author ten years afterwards publicly admitted, was written by Dr. S. S. Schmucker, the professor of dogmatics in the Theological Seminary of the General Synod, at Gettysburg. This "American Recension" of the Augsburg Confession coolly charged that venerable document, the Magna Charta of Protestantism, with a number of grave errors, and changed or mutilated twelve out of its twenty-one doctrinal articles, omitting altogether the second part of the Confession, the seven Articles on Abuses. The "Platform" raised a storm of indignation on all sides. It opened the eyes even of the indifferent and undecided ones and caused them to reflect and to realize the ultimate designs of the men at the helm of the General Synod. Many men who were before numbered with the "American Lutherans," and whose full sympathy with the movement was confidently expected, had nothing but stern rebuke for it. In Mr. Mann's case it certainly helped to define forever his confessional position. It at once aroused the German and the Lutheran in him. In bitter irony he exclaimed: "Surely, ye are the men to master Magister Philippus and Doctor Martinus and to give us a new revision of the Augsburg Confession and a reconstruction of the Lutheran Church based upon it!" And in a short review of the little pamphlet he reminded those who undertook the "recension" of the Augsburg Confession, of the royal advice, written in 2 Sam. 10: 5. But he was not satisfied with these impromptu outbursts of indignation against the Platform. He wrote, what is generally admitted to be, its strongest theological refutation, under the title: "A Plea for the Augsburg

Confession in answer to the objections of the Definite Platform : an address to all ministers and laymen of the Evangelical Church of the United States, by W. J. Mann, pastor of St. Michael's and Zion's Churches, Philadelphia. 'The truth shall make you free.' Jesus Christ. For the Lutheran Board of Publication. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston, 1856."

The exact history of the origin of this little pamphlet of 47 pages is thus related by a member of the Publication Board itself: "One day during a friendly colloquium the conversation turned on the Definite Synodical Platform. This document had come to us anonymously, bearing no visible sign or mark to indicate its origin. Not to converse about a document so shrouded in mystery would be stranger than the document itself. At this fraternal colloquium Rev. Mr. Mann expressed his views on the Augsburg Confession. At the close of his remarks one of the Board (the Rev. E. W. Hutter, pastor of St. Matthew's English Lutheran Congregation) remarked: 'What a pity we have not a stenographer in our midst, to take down the remarks of brother Mann.' Following up this merely incidental remark, Rev. Dr. Stork moved that brother Mann be requested to write out and submit to the Board his remarks, which was agreed to. One week later Rev. Mann brought the manuscript sheets of his little volume; they were read and that brother himself proposed to issue the work on his own responsibility, without the imprint of the Board. From some of the views asserted by the writer several of the Board openly dissented; and, to avoid their objections, a portion of the work was rewritten by the author. It was only then ordered to be printed." The subsequent refusal of the Board to publish Professor S. S. Schmucker's reply, of course, brought upon them the indignation of the author of the Platform. But the Board had very good reason for its refusal; it was unwilling to stultify itself by lending a helping hand to the furtherance of the Platform movement. And in the month of September, 1856, Mr. Mann received the title of Doctor of Divinity from the Trustees of Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg.

His answer, in recognition of that title, was a little book of 152 pages, "Lutheranism in America: an essay on the present condition of the Lutheran Church in the United States" The German manuscript of the original was translated into English by his colleague in the pastorate of Zion's Church, the Rev. G. A. Wenzel. With the impartiality of the true historian, Dr. Mann first describes the various prevailing tendencies, etc., which, at that time, laid claim to the name Lutheran: The left wing, American Lutheranism; the right wing, the Lutherans of a strictly symbolical tendency; and the centre. This is followed by a presentation of the spirit and life of our Church in America during the last century. The concluding remarks treat of the mission of the Lutheran Church and some "*pia desideria*." While moderate and forbearing towards his theological antagonists, the author comes out manfully in defense of the Lutheran Confession. "That invaluable treasure, our *Faith*, for which our fathers struggled, and suffered, and watched, and prayed, we will not expose to the fluctuating spirit of the age, which has already gained an undue influence over the theology of our times, nor to the arbitrary disposal of individuals. Every alteration now effected in our Church doctrines is not a creative act, by which the Church would first be established. The old Confession, which is co-existent with the Church, is that act which binds and unites the Church, and every alteration makes the foundation of the Church insecure, and the consequence must be that her religious life also must become unsettled and wavering" (p. 150, f.).

In 1859 he again represented his Ministerium as one of the delegates to the General Synod's convention in Pittsburg. In some respects this meeting presented a prelude to what was to come five years afterward in York. The question of admitting the Melanchthon Synod greatly agitated the General Body. This Synod had been recently formed by some members of the Maryland Synod, who gathered around Dr. Benjamin Kurtz on the ground of "elective affinity," and who represented an advanced American Lutheranism. There was just reason to doubt both the regularity of the formation of this

Synod and its acceptance of the faith of the Church. Dr. W. J. Mann was prominent in opposing the admission of this Synod, which had practically, though not formally, substituted the Definite Platform for the Augsburg Confession. It was Dr. Chas. Porterfield Krauth who, in the case of the Melanchthon Synod, for the last time, acted as a liberal mediator, in the interest of forbearance and compromise in the General Synod. He moved to admit the Melanchthon Synod with the request, that it should express officially its "adhesion to the principles of Synodical division recognized by the General Synod," and also with a fraternal solicitation "to consider whether a change, in their doctrinal basis, of the paragraph in regard to certain alleged errors, would not tend to the promotion of mutual love and the furtherance of the great objects for which we are laboring together."[1] The Pennsylvania delegation, headed by Dr. Mann, reported to the Ministerium on this point as follows: "The admission of the Melanchthon Synod was opposed by your representatives, for the reason that its application was connected with a certain confession of faith which appeared to us to come into conflict with the Unaltered Augsburg Confession. Yet as the same Synod was at the time of its admission earnestly requested to withdraw its offensive confession, as far as it contained aspersions against the Confession of our Church, it is hoped that said document will in due time be withdrawn." Dr. Mann's own impressions of this meeting of the General Synod were not as favorable as in former times. He foresaw the storm that was brewing. "With much apparent willingness to concede," says his diary, "there were in reality no concessions. I did not leave with very hopeful feelings."

This was the last meeting of the General Synod which Dr. Mann attended. He was not present in York, in 1864, when, on the reception of the Franckean Synod, the Pennsylvania delegates withdrew from the Convention, to report to their Ministerium. Nor was he at the memorable meeting in Fort

[1] Dr. Krauth's explanation of his position in this case is found in "First Free Lutheran Diet in America," page 142.

Wayne, in 1866, where the Pennsylvania Synod was declared to be "out of practical relations" with the General Synod. But when the final question of withdrawing from the General Synod and forming a new General Body on a positively Lutheran basis came up, at the meeting of the Pennsylvania Ministerium in Lancaster, 1866, Dr. Mann was chairman of the committee into whose hands the whole matter was given. His own judgment and the action originally proposed by the committee did not go quite as far as the Synod finally decided. The recommendation was simply to appoint a committee "to *correspond* with other Lutheran Synods with reference to the propriety of calling a convention of such Lutheran Synods, churches and individuals as may be favorable to the organization of a general ecclesiastical body, on a truly Lutheran basis." But the Synod went beyond this in appointing a committee which should at once "prepare and issue a fraternal address" containing an invitation "to unite in a convention for the purpose of forming a union of Lutheran Synods." Dr. Mann always had his doubts about the wisdom of this step, and subsequent events could easily be construed as a strong argument in favor of his view. With his natural caution and prudence he was not very enthusiastic in favor of "leaving one shore without knowing where and how a landing could be effected." "The man who leaves one shore without seeing the shore on the other side always puts himself in a difficult predicament." Still, waiving his personal doubts and difficulties, he loyally served his Ministerium in bringing about the desired union of Synods.

In an extensive and popular article (*Lutherische Zeitschrift*, Nov. 17, 1866), entitled, "What is at stake?" (Um was es sich handelt), he reviews the whole controversy between the confessional party led by the Synod of Pennsylvania and the unlutheran majority of the General Synod. "The rupture," he says, "had been coming for a long time. It has simply brought to light the fact that without true inward unity an outward union has no value. The very fact that men are willing to forbear, proves that they have much to bear in each other.

On the surface they profess to love each other, but in the heart they are afraid of each other. They are bound together and yet separated from each other. The whole thing is tainted with a lack of inward truthfulness. And this puts upon it the seal of condemnation. Neither party has what it really desires. But either party is anxious to be at the helm and the party having least of true moral feeling and honor will be least scrupulous in the choice of means by which it may be strengthened numerically and otherwise. . . . .

"What then is the aim of the conservative Lutheran side? It wants nothing but to keep the Lutheran Church Lutheran, and to preserve what is peculiar to her in doctrine and forms of worship. What does the unlutheran party aim at? It means to rob the Lutheran Church of this country more and more of what is peculiar to her and to make it as nearly as possible *Reformed*. It is true, they have not yet given up the Lutheran name, but they have already manufactured an appendix to it. We should not wonder if the Lutheran name even would be dropped entirely. This would certainly be more honest. But of course, we have no assurance that this will be done.

"This certainly is the peculiar feature of the unlutheran party, that it is essentially addicted to Reformed views. Dr. S. S. Schmucker has for a long time professed views which are in manifest conflict with the doctrine of the Lutheran Confessions, while they agree with that of the Reformed Confessions, especially with the Zwinglian type. In this spirit many of his publications are written, and in this spirit for many, many years he has been teaching as professor in a Lutheran Seminary. He is animated by a Reformed-Zwinglian spirit, and has endeavored to make his pupils of the same mind. To him and to them the truly Lutheran conception of Christianity has never been revealed. He himself has not the slightest sympathy with it.

"The question then for us Lutherans in this country at the present time is simply this: *Shall our Lutheran Church abide by her old original Confession, by her original understanding of*

the word of God, or shall she give it up and adopt on her part the doctrines of Zwingli and of the Reformed Church?"

IX. IN THE GENERAL COUNCIL.

In the first steps toward the formation of the General Council Dr. Mann took an active and sympathetic part. He was a member of the committee which, in behalf of the mother Synod, sent out the fraternal appeal, calling for the organization of the new body on a positively Lutheran basis. He attended the preliminary convention in Reading, December, 1866, which deliberated on the fundamental articles of faith and Church polity forming the basis of the General Council. Soon after the Reading Convention he wrote to his friend Dr. Schaff: "Whatever is worth doing, is worth doing well, and if we want to be Lutherans we will be consistent *ex animo* Lutherans and not Lutherans with the mere sham of the name. These were my thoughts concerning the convention in Reading. It is the greatest nonsense to attempt in behalf of the Lutheran Church to run a race with Methodists or Presbyterians, as our new-Lutheran brethren, who bear the name, are doing, proclaiming it as the most glorious feature of the Lutheran Church, that she had no character of her own, but could be turned and twisted, in life and doctrine, like a wet rag or a nose of wax. In taking this position we do not contend for the old scholastic views or the dogmatic pugilism of the fierce old champions of Lutheranism. But true it is those fellows were men of clear heads, strong will and decided character." (January 2, 1867.)

Dr. Mann went to Fort Wayne in November, 1867, as a delegate of the Pennsylvania Synod to the first convention of the General Council, and sent an interesting correspondence on the proceedings to Brobst's *Lutherische Zeitschrift* (Nov. 23 and 30, 1867).

"The Synod of Pennsylvania," he says, "knew well enough what the Church needed. She had a right to expect that other Synods would be found in close spiritual affinity with herself, which would be ready to enter into more intimate re-

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lations with her. In this she was not mistaken, and in the month of December (12th to 14th) of last year delegates of different Synods, from the East and West, met and united in the adoption of a number of fundamental articles of faith and Church polity and prepared the draft of a constitution for a new union of Synods on the basis of our Lutheran Confession, as we have received it from our fathers of the Reformation time and as they themselves understood and interpreted it.

"Of course this was by far not all. The point now was that the various Synods which had been represented in Reading by delegates, or other Synods as such, should formally accept the articles and constitution, adopted in Reading, as the basis of the general representative body, and thus organize the General Council of the Lutheran Church. This is necessary if we are really to work together for the common interests of our Lutheran Church in this country. We must guard the Church against the corruption of the Lutheran Confession, gather well-ordered congregations in our cities and in the country, secure for them good pastors, sound in the faith and well educated and equipped for their work; provide for the congregations the right kind of prayer-books, hymn-books and a sound religious literature; and carry on the work of foreign missions. Truly there is plenty of work in every direction, and such work as can only be accomplished by the coöperation of truly Lutheran Synods that are of the same mind.

"With this a beginning has been made. It is true, by far not all the Lutheran Synods of this country are represented in Fort Wayne. The Lutheran Church of the South is not here. Of course the Synods belonging to the old General Synod are absent. What should they want to do here? who only care to be called, but vigorously refuse to be, Lutherans. But we are in reality more anxious to be truly Lutheran and to believe the true Lutheran doctrine, than simply to be called so. We miss also the Missourians, those indefatigable champions of our Lutheran Church in the West, who so faithfully resist the destructive tendencies of the spirit of the age. They are absent, because, as we are now, we cannot come up to their

high standard of churchly doctrine and life. Others we miss whom we would like to see with us. Perhaps we may yet be granted the joy of having them with us.

"But all the more heartily do we rejoice over those who are with us and keep to us. There are men here from far and near. Here are our native American brethren, in whose hearts the genuine faith of our old German Luther is living. Here are we, the immigrant children of this country, called to coöperate in the building of the spiritual temple if we are to enjoy its blessings without being ashamed of ourselves. Here are brethren from the centre of our country and brethren from the East; and brethren from the far West and Northwest. And we understand each other. We have a heart for each other. We must deal honorably and faithfully with each other. Candor, freedom, truth must reign, otherwise no progress, no blessing can be expected. It is a peculiar feature of this Convention that brethren, with whom, thus far, the German has been almost exclusively the Synodical language, are thrown together with a circle, in which, as a matter of course, the English enjoys the same rights with the German. One result is, that the discussions are carried on strictly after the parliamentary rules, acknowledged by all English speaking church conventions. Brethren, who have not been accustomed to this, receive new impressions. The historical development of church-life in our country is thus clearly set before our eyes.

"It is manifest, how important it is that justice should be done to the English interests, without abandoning what has hitherto been recognized as Lutheran principle in faith and life. No doubt, we have entered upon one of the most important and critical periods in the history of our Lutheran Church in this country. The West has gained an importance for our Church, which no one could have divined twenty years ago. And yet we are only in the beginnings, in this respect. We see how much depends on this, that the General Council should stand in the nearest and kindliest relations possible to the German Lutherans in the West and should

coöperate hand in hand with them in the great work which the Lord has committed to us.

"It is true, in attending the sessions of this Council, we cannot but feel, that, while there is much unanimity with reference to the fundamental articles of faith and church polity, the principles prevailing with reference to many practical questions, differ greatly. The East with its church-life rests on a history. It is not laying the foundation, as the brethren in the West are doing, who found there a *tabula rasa*, on unoccupied territory. We in the East have to build upon the churchly foundation which has been laid by generations before us. We have not simply to deal with the present, but with a past weighing upon us with all its complications, stereotyped usages and reigning opinions, on which we are to a great extent dependent. From this many difficulties confront us, of which our Western brethren have no conception. On the other hand certain principles and views obtain in the West, from which the Eastern brethren differ, the latter being much more strict on the same points.

"It seems to be generally admitted that there is a difference between fundamental principles and questions of a disciplinary character. Nor can it be denied that the very best intentions and a kindly disposition reign on all sides, together with a manly candor and straightforwardness without which everything else would only be a lie. May we then not indulge in the hope that a blessed work will be accomplished? There will be no lack of difficulties. There must be struggles everywhere in this world. But this is no reason to doubt the progress and final success of the good cause."

In spite of these hopeful and sympathetic utterances we do not find Dr. Mann prominently connected with the practical work of the General Council in subsequent years. Though he was almost regularly elected a delegate he very rarely attended the conventions. If we mistake not, he was present only in Philadelphia 1877 and 1885, and in Minneapolis 1888. At the first Philadelphia Convention he took an active part in the warm discussion on pulpit and altar fellowship and on the

test question of the appeal from the New York Ministerium, he voted with the strictly confessional party. Soon after the adjournment of that meeting, in a letter to Dr. Schaff, he expressed himself very freely on the difficulties, which he had in his own mind on those exciting questions which agitated the church. Perhaps we get here, at least a partial insight, into those feelings and convictions which kept him from taking a more prominent part in the work, and the conflict of the General Council in those days.

"Nothing but conflicts," he says, "between feelings and theological reasoning! Being rooted and grown on the symbols of the sixteenth century, the Lutheran Church cannot do justice to the pressure of the nineteenth. Torn away from those ancient, manly and solemn testimonies, she is a historical lie, and the contemptible shuttlecock of the fluctuating opinions of the day. There is no real satisfaction in either direction. And yet, in truth, there is no time less fitted to formulate symbols than ours. I do not feel comfortable in this whole affair. Without adopting the folly that there is no gospel and no salvation outside of the Lutheran Church, I am yet opposed to unionistic tendencies, knowing, that in Germany too, the union is no match for the spirit of the times. It is hard to think of a more miserable chaos. Wherever serious conscientious scruples rule over the soul in matters of religion, there we find an antipathy against all sorts of Unionism. And yet, how desirable that all Christians should at this time be united against the ruling power of infidelity! But for the present no one will be able to help us out of the conflict and confusion of our times."

And in a letter, written about ten years later, he says: "I cannot be a Lutheran and a Zwinglian or a Calvinist at the same time. Being the one, I am, as a matter of course against the other. Wherever principles are at stake I shall declare my position accordingly, and consider Church-unionism a monstrosity" (Unding). To many people certain dogmatical questions may seem to be of secondary, and church union of primary importance. But I have never yet found that those

who declare certain dogmas to be secondary were willing to adopt the opposite views for the sake of church union. There it becomes manifest that even in 'secondary matters' they will hold on to their opinion.

"How far it may be proper for me, being conscious of having many and important points in common with men of another faith, to express this recognition in churchly official acts,—on this question, I confess, I am not perfectly clear, and nowhere have I found a clear and satisfactory answer to it. To attempt to settle it simply by a certain feeling of good will and kindness is extremely questionable."

In treating of Dr. Mann's relation to the *General Council*, we cannot pass by his attitude towards the *liturgical and hymnological* activity of that body, as represented in the "Kirchenbuch," with its Order of Service and its collection of psalms and hymns. The Reading Convention (Dec. 12–14, 1866), which determined on the organization of the General Council, lost no time in appointing English and German Hymn-book Committees, in which all the District Synods were to be represented. For the English part of the church the principal part of the work had been accomplished by the Pennsylvania Synod, whose committee prepared the Church Book, which the General Council adopted as its own. But in the German portion of the church nothing had thus far been done towards securing one book fitted for such a general body on a strictly Lutheran basis. The Reading Convention resolved, "that a Committee of one from each Synod here represented be appointed to prepare a German Hymn-book, having reference to the work already done by the Wisconsin and Ohio Synods, and report their labors at the next meeting of this body." The Pennsylvania representative on this committee was the late Rev. A. T. Geissenhainer.

Dr. Mann, who was in a position to know what measures were likely to be taken by the Reading Convention, considered this movement premature, and was greatly concerned that there might be a clashing of interests between the Pennsylvania Synod's German Hymn-book and one possibly to be

issued by the general body. On December 1st, 1866, there appeared in the *Lutherische Zeitschrift* an article under the heading: "Gesangbuchs-Verbesserung. Neues Gesangbuch," which fully represents his views on the subject at that time. "The Hymn-book Question, it is said, seems at the present time to be a prominent topic of discussion in several Synods of our church. The joint Synod of Ohio has been at work for some time with the edition of a new hymn-book, and possibly has finished it by this time. The Synod of Wisconsin has undertaken a revision of the Pennsylvania hymn-book by striking out a number of hymns and substituting better ones. Thus there is a fine prospect of our having three hymn-books, besides those of Missouri, Buffalo, Radde, Gettysburg, etc. . . .

"Now I love to see unity and uniformity in our church books which are to be used in the public service,—one good Liturgy and one good hymn-book in all and for all the churches of our Lutheran Zion. Would it not be better if these Synods would yet wait a little while until the new general body is organized, and then in the fear of God take up this work in common with all the Synods of sound faith, and thus prepare a substantial, truly Lutheran hymn-book, which would become the common treasure of all the Lutheran congregations of this country? Even if some years should pass by, it would be no disadvantage; the work of those brethren also would not be lost; it would find grateful recognition; and until that time we could manage to get along with what we have.

"I willingly admit that the old Pennsylvania hymn-book is capable of improvement. Though it has become dear to me through a use of many years, I am not blind to its defects. I miss many a jewel, and I know a number of hymns which might be supplanted by better ones. But even such a revision would probably fail to give general satisfaction. Nor must it be forgotten that any alteration of the old hymn-book would, for the present, meet with legal opposition such as would be most unpleasant for those who would undertake it.

"The Synod of Pennsylvania knows by experience the difficulties connected with the introduction of a new hymn-book. She knows how many congregations have become attached to the present book, and could not therefore think lightly of a revision or the introduction of a new hymn-book. And yet I believe that, with a view to the future and to the welfare of the Church at large, she would not refuse her coöperation, with the prospect of attaining something more perfect."

At the first convention of the General Council in Fort Wayne, Dr. Mann was substituted for Rev. A. T. Geissenhainer on the German Hymn-Book Committee; and as the chairman of this committee he laid before the General Council a set of rules which were to guide the committee in the preparation of the new book. The report closed with the recommendation "that the liturgical service in the German Hymn-book be made to conform to that of the English Church-book." With these instructions, unanimously adopted, the work of the German Kirchenbuch was fairly mapped out. But here also was the end of Dr. Mann's connection with that work. Yea, for reasons indicated in the above-quoted article, the connection of the Synod of Pennsylvania with the proposed Church Book was to end then and there, the delegation of the Pennsylvania Synod, on motion, being "excused from appointing a representative upon the German Hymnbook Committee." But at the fourth convention in Lancaster, Ohio (1870), a new committee was appointed with two members of the Pennsylvania Synod, whose number was gradually increased as the work went on. Thus the Pennsylvania Synod had her share also in the work of the German Church Book, as she had the exclusive honor of the preparation of the English book. When the Church-book appeared, Dr. Mann made no effort to introduce it in his congregation. At the meeting of the Ministerium in Pottstown, 1881, being President of Synod, he led the opposition against it, which demanded the continuation of the old Pennsylvania Hymnbook.

Is it true that Dr. Mann was on principle opposed to litur-

gies as such and to the whole liturgical development in the General Council? To say this would be doing him great injustice. There are few, if any, pastors in the whole Pennsylvania Synod who have so strongly and eloquently pleaded for liturgical services as Dr. Mann has done with his ready pen. Read his articles in the *Kirchenfreund* (1853, pp. 321 ff., and 441 ff.) on the question: "Liturgy or Extempore Prayer in Public Service?" "No doubt," he says, "our services are lacking in one great and sacred thing,—the true spirit of worship before the Lord God. They contain much more of man's service than of God's. It is man who makes a display of his talents, his smartness, his learning, and of whom, as their preacher, the members of the congregation are proud, instead of Christ being great before us, and the congregation bowing down to the dust before Him. The spirit of adoration, and consequently the spirit of true service itself, has greatly deteriorated among us through the extravagant predominance of the pulpit. And the prayers, as extempore prayers, are mostly nothing but a tiresome concatenation of stereotyped phrases and common-places. In the Liturgy the congregation meets something different from the individuality of the minister. Over against this subjectivism the common faith and adoration of the church as a communion finds there its proper expression. The organic participation of the congregation in the service, which is demanded by the truly reformatory principle of the spiritual priesthood of believers, is lacking without a good liturgy. Those who would like to see the church quickened with a new religious life, manifesting itself vigorously also in acts of confession, do not know what they are doing if they fail to recognize the participation of the congregation in the service as a principal means for the improvement of a living piety, and refuse to advance it by all means."—The slow dragging music in which almost universally the chorals are sung, is forcibly contrasted with the fresh, vigorous and lively rhythm of the Reformation time. "The composers of the sixteenth century would hardly recognize their own tunes in our singing!—The men of the Refor-

mation cannot be sufficiently praised for their sober treatment of the liturgical question. Luther particularly arranged his new order of service on the most conservative principles. He only meant to cleanse the Roman Catholic liturgy from anti-scriptural additions; but his 'Evangelical Mass' retained whatever was not contrary to pure doctrine. It would have been impossible for Luther to think of a service without fixed forms of prayer and confession, as the right and orderly thing in the Christian Church." Speaking of the early Lutheran Church of our fathers in America, Dr. Mann points to the fact that her original liturgical character was in the beginning clearly recognized in this country. "We know well enough," say the concluding paragraphs of those articles, "that the true participation of the congregations cannot be reached simply by synodical resolutions and liturgies prepared for introduction. The congregations themselves must feel the want, on their part, to praise God with one heart and one mouth. Only then will we obtain something better than a purely mechanical, outward, and therefore dead performance. But the ministers of the Word have to do their duty to gain for themselves a clearer insight into the true nature of Christian worship, in order to be able to spread this understanding also among their congregations."

Five years afterward, in an article on "The German Reformed Church and the Liturgical Question" (*Kirchenfreund*, 1858, pp. 9–15), he treats the same subject in a still more direct and practical manner, recommending most warmly the newly published liturgy of the Reformed Church. "The language," he says, "is the old biblical and churchly language in its sublime simplicity, plain and unadorned compared to modern poetical stiltedness, and yet most edifying. Some will say, time will prove whether the book is good or not. But whoever thinks this way confounds two things, viz., 'good in itself' and 'suited to the taste of the time.' The Reformed Church may find it impossible to carry through the idea of this book within the next ten or twenty years in the life of her congregations, and to make it familiar in her homes and her

services so that it becomes a real growth like the Book of Common Prayer in the Episcopal Church. Such things are very hard to introduce where people have not been accustomed to them from childhood. But to say that for this reason the book is not good in itself, would be paramount to accepting the taste of the times as judge over churchly principles, which can never be decided by a merely popular taste, dependent upon habit. Or should the work of the Church ignore correct principles in order to accommodate itself to prevailing opinions, deeply rooted prejudices and pure habit? More and more people begin to understand that our Protestant form of service as it is commonly found, consists chiefly in listening to the singing of a choir, to a rather stereotyped prayer (though it claims to be extempore) and a somewhat lengthy sermon. The congregation, which certainly ought to take the principal part in a congregational service, has least to do in it. There is no inward desire for a common, cheerful manifestation of our religious life in confession, song and prayer. We have no hope of ever seeing a change in this respect. But it is most appropriate that over against this lamentable reality the picture of a better church service be presented. You may say that this is not the time to make and introduce liturgies. And yet our very time needs to be reminded of what a true congregational service ought to be. The difficulties which are, at present, in the way of the introduction of a correct liturgical service were well known to the Synod and to the committee. But this could not move the committee to present something contrary to correct churchly principles. It cannot be expected that the highest tribunal of the Church should simply accommodate itself to a general defect. It has the duty, not to sanction but to correct, as far as possible, such defects. And certainly the thing is well deserving of a trial, if perhaps a fresh and more living participation of the congregation in the service might thereby be effected." It needs no commentary to show how well every one of these words is fitted to the work of the General Council's Committee, the Church Book, which appeared about twenty years later.

Wherever an opportunity was afforded to Dr. Mann to hear a fair presentation of the treasures of our old churchly songs, he did not hesitate to give full and enthusiastic expression to his delight. That beautiful choral service in the Church of the Holy Communion, during the General Council's session in 1885, fairly overwhelmed him and he pronounced it in his motion on the next day "a choral service no less full of instruction and encouragement than of sacred emotion and holy pleasure;" there "we realized the beauty of ancient and especially Lutheran Church music, and acknowledge it as a convincing proof that in this direction also the Lutheran Church needs not to go out of the galaxy of her ancient talent granted her, and the musical treasures entrusted to her, for the edification of her congregations and families." How often during the last years of his life, especially on festival days, after attending the full liturgical service of our Church did we hear the testimony from his lips: "What a solemn and edifying service this was!" and his last communion on earth he enjoyed on Easter morning with the full service of the German Church Book in St. Johannis.

We close these testimonies of our sainted brother on the Church Book question, with a quotation from his biography of Muhlenberg. Speaking of the hymnological work of the patriarch, and particularly of the hymn-book of 1786, his biographer says: "Muhlenberg was too conservative a Churchman to deprive Lutherans of hymns to which tradition and habit had attached them, and which strenuously echoed the Lutheran faith. In this respect this hymn-book, the largest part of which Muhlenberg compiled, and which was published by Synod in 1786, is much superior to the one edited under Synodical authority in 1849, but does not attain to the merits of the *Kirchenbuch* edited by the General Council of the Lutheran Church in America, and representing the highest standard of liturgical and hymnological theory." (P. 500.)

But with all this recognition of the correct principles represented in the liturgical and hymnological work of the General Council, with all his pronounced churchly conservatism and

his fine æsthetic taste, there were other and weighty points which made it difficult, if not impossible, for Dr. Mann to be in full sympathy with the *Kirchenbuch* and to take an active part in its introduction. The "pressure of the nineteenth century," which made him frequently so uncomfortable with regard to the confessional question, was felt by him even more directly in the practical sphere of the service in God's house. He was too modern a man in the whole cast of his mind, too much given to reflection, to believe in a simple, natural and naïve enjoyment of those ancient forms of service of the sixteenth century and of pre-Reformation times. Besides he had his full share of that peculiar Suabian individualism, which entertains an almost invincible repugnance to anything like fixed, stereotyped forms of however ancient authority. The Pennsylvania hymn-book of 1849, which was modelled after the Württemberg hymn-book of 1842, (that half way compromise between pure churchly principles and modern likes and dislikes), had taken possession of his heart, even when he was still in the Reformed Church. And now, when the Church Book appeared, Dr. Mann was nearing the sixties, and according to human expectations he had only a few years of active ministerial work before him. The Church Book was a radical departure from the hymn-book of 1849, which had been chiefly the work of his predecessor and colleague in Zion's Church, the revered and beloved Dr. C. R. Demme. Considering all these points, we can understand that Dr. Mann shrunk from the difficult and delicate task of bringing the old congregation from the hymn-book of 1849 over to the *Kirchenbuch* of 1877.

X. IN THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

The establishment of the Theological Seminary in the city of Philadelphia by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania was an important feature in that movement towards a full, unreservedly Lutheran position, which culminated in the organization of the General Council. The Seminary was founded for a double object: first to secure a full theological course in both languages for all who should need it; and secondly to maintain

a doctrinal standard in full conformity with the confession of the Church. Dr. Mann was chosen as one of the original three full professors of the institution. He was the German Professor of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, Dr. C. P. Krauth being the English Professor, and Dr. C. F. Schaefer the German-English.

From the beginning he was delighted with his call to this new field of labor, for which he was so eminently fitted by his brilliant gifts and rich experience as a teacher. He was willing at once to devote himself entirely to the new work, and immediately after his election as professor he handed in his resignation as pastor of Zion's congregation. But the congregation would not let him go, and for twenty years he had to carry the double burden as pastor of the large mother congregation and as professor and housefather of the Seminary. For a number of years his services to the Seminary were entirely gratuitous, and to the end of his life he never drew his full salary as a professor. His preparations for his lectures were most exact and conscientious. The branches which he taught were Hebrew, Ethics, Symbolics, Homiletics and New Testament Exegesis. He had much to give to his students, but he also demanded much of them. As soon as he had received his appointment as professor, he formed a sort of Hebrew Club with his newly arrived colleague in the pastorate, and in those short weeks preceding the opening of the Seminary, a good deal of the prophet Isaiah was read by the two friends. Though the drudgery of teaching Hebrew grammar gradually became very distasteful, still nothing could give him greater satisfaction than the recognition of some of the Hebrew students of his training by such scholars as Dr. Harper and Dr. Hilprecht. In his presentation of Symbolics he was particularly happy in giving clear historical outlines of the different ecclesiastical groups, and following the various doctrinal systems up to the very roots and principles from which they sprang. While from his own individuality he would probably never have made a satisfactory professor of dogmatics in the full panoply of our old Lutheran scholasticism, no one ever

complained that his Symbolics did not give a perfectly true and accurate statement of all that is distinctive and characteristic in the Lutheran Confession. The important and difficult branch of Ethics found in him a most excellent teacher. His thorough philosophical training, his own moral strictness and conscientiousness, his deep insight into the practical life of the Christian, his comprehensive knowledge of all the social relations and problems of our present time fitted him admirably for this particular subject. In the homiletical exercises, which he superintended, he was an unsparing critic of the first crude efforts of his students, but at the same time full of suggestions and practical hints from the rich storehouse of his own experience as an eloquent and popular preacher. The form was altogether of secondary interest to him, while he insisted that the riches and the fullness of the divine word in the text should be thoroughly studied, sincerely felt and carefully expounded by the witness of God's truth in the pulpit.

In his position as housefather he insisted on good order and discipline in the Seminary. It was not too much for him to appear at the bedside of a lazy sleeper who had accustomed himself never to hear the bell for rising and chapel service. But at the same time he was the kindest and most sympathizing friend of his students, always ready to do what he could for those who stood in need of sound advice and active assistance. In December, 1875, when the smallpox broke out in the Seminary, and two students succumbed to the pestilence, he was untiring in his heroic and self-sacrificing devotion to the poor sufferers and to the institution itself. He had the care of the sick, whom he visited every day and frequently more than once a day. And the whole management of the house with all the necessary measures for ventilation and disinfection, etc., was in his charge. He says of his experience in those days: "I went through an amount of trouble which I hardly ever expected to have."

We may conclude this short reference to his Seminary work with a few passages from his "Recollections of an old Professor," which he wrote in Munich, July, 1889, for the memorial number of the *Indicator:*

"It was on a morning in October in the year 1864, that I marched from my house, at that time on Fifth street, near Fairmount Avenue (then Coates street) to the Book store on Ninth street, south of Arch street, Philadelphia. Synod had ordered the establishment and opening of the Theological Seminary; the Professors were elected and installed, the students were expected; the work had to begin. I think, eleven young brethren had presented themselves before the faculty for admission. The number, though small, was not discouraging, for they were large-hearted men. When I reached the book-store that day, I was conducted to the rear building of the house and there, in a small room on the second floor, I found those students seated around an oval table and began my lecture. I recollect that it was the first lecture given in the Seminary. Among other subjects, my task during the year was to expound the Epistle to the Romans, and in that lecture I narrated to the class the life of Paul, the Apostle, and tried to depict to them the character of the man who did more than any other by his apostolic dignity, missionary spirit and energetic devotion, to open the way for the gospel of Christ, in its tour around the world. I can never forget the close attention with which that class of students listened to my words and thereby greatly encouraged me.

"As a professor who was placed in his position by the kind confidence of Synod and who has been in active service from the beginning of the work of the Seminary up to the present time, I recollect that I used the German language for years, which resulted in the fact that our English students derived no benefit whatever from me, excepting that they learned a little Hebrew, which I had to teach in English or not teach at all (and that little in most cases did not remain with them long); whilst other important branches, like Ethics and Symbolics, which also should have been taught in English, were by those students missed entirely during the whole Seminary course. This deficiency in their training was not a matter of choice, but was one of those strange necessities belonging to the transition period in the linguistic difficulties of our Lutheran Church. I also recollect the time, when these students, knowing their own interest, came and begged me to use the English language along with the German, so that they also might be benefited by my instruction. I felt that I could grant this petition with a good conscience, and I am also thoroughly convinced that no German student could honestly say, that he suffered from this cause in his training in the German language."

It was natural for him with his constitutional timidity and caution, not to be over-sanguine concerning the possibilities and prospects of such a vast undertaking as this Seminary was for the Synod of Pennsylvania. "I remember the time

very well," he says, "when I would have looked with incredulous eyes upon any one who might have told me that the old Synod of Pennsylvania could undertake the establishment of a Seminary of her own. I recollect the time when I considered our dear brother S. K. Brobst, of Allentown,—a man of blessed memory—as a very amiable enthusiast, when he spoke to me privately from time to time about the necessity of a Seminary of a truly Lutheran character in the midst of the Pennsylvania Synod." So, when the removal of the institution to Mount Airy became a necessity, he would sometimes say, with a sort of desperate resignation: "I shall never live to see it." But when the day came for the laying of the corner-stone on the beautiful spot, where our Seminary now stands, what a joyous, hopeful and happy spirit of spring-time breathed through his stirring and beautiful address on that occasion! He lived to see it and to work in it and to give the best strength and time of the eve of his life to his work in Mount Airy. It would indeed be hard to tell which he loved best, the congregation whose pastor he had been for thirty-four years, or the Seminary to which the twenty-seven ripest years of his life were given. On his death-bed in the few moments when his mind was wandering, he was in the class-room, with his beloved students.

XI. ADDITIONAL LITERARY AND PHILANTHROPIC WORK.

When Dr. Mann's connection with the "*Kirchenfreund*" ceased in 1859, that paper was continued by the publishers, Messrs. Schaefer & Koradi for a number of years, simply as a collection of interesting articles selected from German theological journals. But Rev. S. K. Brobst, the enthusiastic and persevering pioneer of Lutheran German journalism in the East, and a life-long devoted friend of Dr. Mann, at once secured his co-operation for his "*Zeitschrift*" and "*Jugendfreund*." His leading articles in the former paper cover almost as wide a range of subjects, as his former contributions to the *Kirchenfreund*, but as a matter of course they had to be of a more popular character. They were particularly strong

and able in the line of apologetics, defending the old Christian faith against modern infidelity, especially in its German development. See his Letters on "Believers and Unbelievers" (Glauben and Unglauben 1863). "Why should we have a Sunday?" (1860). "Hints for those who are charged with the training of the young" (1861). Also his Synodical sermon of 1861, published in the *Zeitschrift*, is chiefly of this character. His views on the progress of God's Kingdom in modern history were set forth in those comprehensive and instructive sketches, called "Rundschau," with which the new year generally opened. The rest of his contributions were mostly devoted to practical questions for congregations, pastors and Christians. They were full of pastoral wisdom and true spiritual unction. A living Christianity pulsates in them and everywhere do they insist on the manifestation of a pure faith in an honest, upright Christian life. His contributions to Mr. Brobst's *Jugendfreund*, over the signature "M. S. N.," were continued for many years and were a source of great pleasure to him. It is impossible to read them without the impression, that those little sketches were a labor of love on the part of the writer. The deep theologian and philosopher did not think it beneath his dignity to sit with the little ones in the nursery, going with them over their picture-books and pointing out all their beauties and funny things. Here his powers of imagination and humor have full sway. But with all his playfulness and merriment he always returned to the one thing needful.

In 1863 his friend Dr. Ph. Schaff had founded another German monthly called *Evangelische Zeugnisse*, and published by Ig. Kohler, Philadelphia. A considerable part of the editorial burden of this homiletical journal rested on Dr. Mann's shoulders, as Dr. Schaff was frequently absent in Europe. Dr. Mann was, however, not very enthusiastic over it. Though almost every number contained something from his pen, he considered it "a crime against good taste to print stale sermons." To write sermons was to him a horrible penance. He left it to others whom he found willing "to risk their trifling

reputation and to look upon the *Evangelische Zeugnisse* as a pulpit of larger dimensions." His own written sermons appeared to him "as mere funeral sermons of the preached ones."

For over three years (1864–1867) he was at work on the translation of an English Commentary to the New Testament for the American Tract Society. At the very outset he had his doubts and misgivings about it. He knew well the difficulty of transforming English, "such English, such theological English into anything like good fluent German. It is not the words and the language, but it is the whole manner of thinking, of looking at things, where the difference rests. For the Germans something according to their own genius should be given." The more the work progressed the less was he satisfied with it. His only recompense was the renewed and thorough study of the New Testament to which it led him. Apart from this he considered it a labor *improbus* and finally gave it up, though he had nearly finished the whole work.

He found more satisfaction in the editing of Ig. Kohler's large family Bible, which appeared in 1865, and with which he had been occupied about two years and a half. He revised the parallel passages and headings of chapters, and wrote short introductions to the different books, giving some general hints and historical points, to assist the reader in the proper understanding of the sacred writings. In addition to this he wrote a preface (dated Oct. 1, 1864), one of the most forcible apologies of the Bible to be found anywhere. Unbelievers and mockers, Christians and pastors are invited to this word of life which is addressed "to that point in men which no human word can properly reach—the conscience."

About this time (1866 and the following years),he also furnished regular contributions to the *Lutheran* and *Missionary*, especially on European affairs and on German theological literature (the Church abroad). Later on he was an industrious writer for the *Lutheran Church Review* (from 1882 to 1891) chiefly on ethical, philosophical and historical topics. The

most extensive and elaborate contribution is a series of four articles on Albert Ritschl and his theology, of which he made a special study during the last years of his life. Owing to this author's uncouth and stilted language he found this by no means an easy task. He looked upon his theology as a compromise between modern philosophy and the traditional creed; an attempt to present Christian teaching in a form which accommodates itself to the ways of modern thinking. He admits that Ritschl has emphasized certain sides in Christianity which, though not unknown heretofore, have perhaps not been fully appreciated in their importance for the Christian's life. He was willing to accept as "the ethical result" of Ritschl's three volumes on "Justification and Reconciliation" the idea: "Christianity a task and an accomplishment." But after all he sums up his judgment in the sentence: "If Paul is right, Ritschl is wrong."

For the last twelve years of his life his literary work was concentrated upon the early history of our Lutheran Church in America. A long array of smaller German books, historical and biographical, the goodly English volume "Life and Times of H. M. Muhlenberg," and the new edition of the Halle Reports, all belong to this department. This was indeed a different kind of work and writing from what he had been accustomed to heretofore. In those fresh and sprightly articles of his earlier literary period there was no elaborate searching of documents and evidences. He carried all his references within himself, in the well filled storehouse of his never failing memory, and the thoughts burst forth like springs of living waters. But here he had to settle down to endless search after petty details, to be hunted up in dusty folios and faded Church records. And he proved himself fully equal to this toilsome work. In spite of its comparatively narrow horizon, he found it most instructive and stimulating. Having once bestirred himself to do this work to the best of his ability, he soon became very fond of it and found an enjoyment in it, which few people could fully appreciate, just as only a very few would be able to realize the amount of work and

patient toil, represented in one little number of those reports. He was associated in this great work with Rev. Dr. German, of Windsheim, Germany, and with our lamented Dr. B. M. Schmucker. To those who had an opportunity of knowing Dr. Mann and Dr. Schmucker and of recognizing the remarkable and peculiar talents of both, it was a special gratification, to see those two men, so different in many respects, and naturally often antagonistic, united in beautiful harmony on the evening of their life in one common work for our beloved Church, learning to know and to value each other more and more as they progressed in their labor of love.

There is, no doubt, a providential significance in this concentration of Dr. Mann, in the ripest years of his life, upon our patriarch H. M. Muhlenberg and his times. As stated above he did not take an active part in the controversies and labors that engaged the General Council after its immediate organization. There was much in those details, that was neither interesting nor attractive to him. But as he busied himself in his quiet study and drew for us the life-like picture of that noble man of God, whom all parties cannot but revere and accept as the best type of Lutheranism in America, he contributed the most important building material for the future unity of our Church in this country, proving beyond the possibility of a contradiction, that the position of the General Council is not only correct in principle and theory, but also the true historical one in the very beginning of a Lutheran Church organization in America.

In addition to all these endless labors as pastor, professor and author, Dr. Mann still found time to show an active interest in philanthropic work not directly connected with the church. He was a faithful member of the German Society, a wise counselor in all its deliberations, and for many years the chairman of its Library Committee, serving the society to the best of his ability by his excellent literary taste and judgment and his intimate acquaintance with the standard publications in German as well as in English. As a member of the Pennsylvania Prison Society, he was a regular visitor to

the Eastern Penitentiary, carrying human sympathy and the light of God's word into the criminal's cell. In this, as in all his labors, he was most punctual and systematic. He kept a list of the German prisoners, with the numbers of their cells and the dates of his visits, which, with very rare exceptions, were paid from week to week. In the German Hospital (since 1884) and in the Mary J. Drexel Home and Philadelphia Mother-House of Deaconesses (since 1888), he served as trustee to the time of his death. He was also, for a number of years, vice-president of the Pennsylvania Bible Society.

XII. THE END.

Dr. Mann was married in 1849 to Margaretta Rommel, the daughter of John Rommel, a devout and intelligent Christian, and for many years the superintendent of St. Paul's Sunday-school. The widow survives him, with one son and three daughters. He paid several visits to Europe,—the first in 1867, when he saw his aged mother for the last time, and afterwards in 1875, and again in 1889 and 1890; the last two journeys were undertaken chiefly for the sake of Mrs. Mann's health, which was restored by her visits to Carlsbad. In 1889 the journey was extended to Italy, and Genoa, Florence, Rome, Naples, the Island of Capri and Venice were visited.

During the forty-seven years of his American life Dr. Mann was repeatedly prostrated by severe attacks of sickness. "I cannot boast," he says, "of a superabundance of physical strength." Besides his severe illness in the summer of 1853, when Rev. Mr. Gunther took his place in the congregation, he suffered most painfully from neuralgia in the right ear in 1861, and had again a serious attack of sickness in the spring of 1865, from which he recovered very slowly. In 1878 he was once more laid up for several weeks, and ever since that time his hearing was somewhat affected. But in spite of these repeated storms which shook his bodily constitution, he showed a wonderful vitality, never sparing himself, working as few other men could have worked, and exposing him-

self to constant danger in the performance of his ministerial duties. Even after he had passed his seventieth year he showed no signs of failing. "Up to my seventy-third year," he said, "I have hardly known what it is to grow old." In 1890 he now and then complained of not feeling well, and thought "perhaps the evening bells are tolling." But to the wider circle of his friends it was quite unexpected when, on the morning of October 28, 1891, he was prostrated by that sudden attack of heart failure which at once brought him to the very gates of death. Though he rallied once more, there could be no doubt that the days of his public life and work were over. He resigned his professorship in the Seminary, confining himself, with all the strength that was left to him, to his study and the continuation of his beloved Halle Reports. After a visit to Atlantic City in the spring of 1892, his strength for a time seemed greatly improved. He again attended the meetings of the Pastoral Association in Mount Airy, and made one of his most brilliant extempore addresses in the May meeting on the condition and influence of the Jews in modern history. But when the time came for the Synodical Convention in Reading, he did not feel strong enough to attend the meeting, as he was very much prostrated by the great heat. He longed to get out of the city and to enjoy the balmy sea-breezes of Pigeon Cove, Massachusetts, where he had been greatly benefited in the preceding summer. He left the city on Wednesday, June 15th, in company with his wife and two daughters. On the way to Falls River he was taken quite sick on the steamer, and when they reached Boston, it was found necessary to stop at a hotel and call in medical assistance. A few precious days were granted to him in that quiet retreat with his beloved ones. He hardly tasted the bitterness of death. Softly and gently the Lord carried His faithful servant home on the evening of June 20th. He had reached an age of 73 years and 22 days.

On the following Friday, June 24th, his body was laid to rest in West Laurel Hill Cemetery, Philadelphia. At the

house, No. 114 North Thirty-fourth Street, the Rev. William Ashmead Schaeffer, pastor of St. Stephen's Church, read the service for the burial of the dead. Dr. Charles W. Schaeffer, the senior and chairman of the Theological Faculty, and a life-long, warm friend of Dr. Mann, addressed the family in words of tender sympathy and appreciation of the departed one. Rev. Hugo Grahn, the oldest of his German colleagues in the city, closed with a German prayer. There was general regret that the public service could not be held in Zion's Church, whose faithful pastor he had been for thirty-four years. But the work of repairing and painting in preparation for the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the congregation had already been commenced and the scaffolding erected, so that the church was not available for such a funeral service. The churches of St. Johannis (German), St. John's (English), and of the Holy Communion were offered for the funeral service, and on account of its central location, the family decided in favor of the latter. The large edifice was crowded with members of all our Lutheran Churches in Philadelphia and from the whole territory of our Synod.

As the body was carried into the church by pastors who had all been pupils of Dr. Mann, it was followed by the vestry of Zion's Church, the directors of the Seminary, a delegation from the New York Ministerium, which was at that time in session in the City of New York, and about 200 clerical brethren. After an organ-prelude Rev. F. Wischan announced the hymn: "Mein Glaub ist meines Lebens Ruh," which was a favorite of the departed brother, and after the singing offered prayer in the German language. Rev. E. Nidecker, Dr. Mann's assistant and successor in Zion's Church, read the Scripture and Dr. A. Spaeth delivered the German address, basing his remarks on John 9: 4. "I must work the works of Him that sent me, while it is day: the night cometh when no man can work." This was followed by the aria from Haendel's Messiah: "I know that my Redeemer liveth," after which the Rev. Dr. J. A. Seiss delivered the English address. It was generally regretted that Dr. G. F. Krotel, the intimate friend

of Dr. Mann for more than thirty years, whose name was on the programme for the principal address in English, could not be present on account of sickness. Professor H. E. Jacobs, D.D., followed with an English prayer, and a last opportunity was given to take a parting look at the features, which were so familiar to the hundreds that passed the coffin. It was nearly seven o'clock in the evening when the last words of the burial service were spoken at the grave in West Laurel Hill Cemetery.

Dr. W. J. Mann was undoubtedly one of the most highly gifted, genial and original men the Lutheran Church ever had in this country. In addition to his uncommon natural endowments he had the advantage of an excellent classical and theological training, such as his native Württemberg, celebrated for its educational institutions, could afford. His learning was not confined to theology and its nearly related departments; it covered the widest range, not only of philosophical and historical subjects, but also in the vast kingdom of natural philosophy, physics, chemistry, astronomy, etc. Much as he had acquired in the days of his youth, he never ceased studying and learning, adding new treasures to his rich stores from year to year. He was an indefatigable reader; but faithful and reliable as his memory was, he constantly aided and strengthened it with pen and pencil, taking notes and making copious extracts from books and journals, wherever he would find anything that seemed worth retaining. There was no trace of scholasticism in his knowledge. Everything he knew he had appropriated and digested, so that his own mind had full control over it, and whatever he brought out of his storehouse appeared to be altogether his own, bearing the imprint of his individuality. The freshness and directness of the living word was everything with him and compared to this all that was written or printed seemed to be of small account. As the world and its history, and the Church and her life and development, so his own thoughts, his whole system of philosophy and theology seemed to be in constant motion. According to the turn it might take, according to the impres-

sions received, he would have very different views of the same topic in succession as quick as the changes of the kaleidoscope. With his eminently critical mind, and his thorough knowledge of the world he was naturally inclined to pessimistic views, but it was the pessimism of the child of God, which is sick of this world and its ways, and longs to be at home in everlasting peace.

Among his many natural gifts and endowments his æsthetic and artistic talents, his thorough appreciation of the beautiful in art and nature must not be forgotten. All through his life he used and enjoyed that precious gift of holding fast with his quickly sketching pencil, any charming landscape which he might come across. Many a poem of deep and tender feeling and well-shaped form was written by him, and even in the English language he was successful in this line. But his greatest enjoyment and comfort he found in his musical endowment. What a treat it was to listen to him when he sat at his beloved piano, revelling in musical thoughts and dreams. With striking originality and ability he would take up a theme and carry it through in the most elaborate manner, until at last he would return to his favorite, Handel and his master piece, the Messiah, concluding with some reminiscence from that grand oratorio or with a plain German choral.

All those gifts and accomplishments were ennobled and sanctified by the sincere piety of a truly devout and godly heart. To have a live experience of the mercy and grace of God which overcomes the guilt and power of sin and makes new creatures in Christ Jesus, this was to him the very centre, the moving and controlling power of his whole life. From this fountain sprang that indefatigable ability to work and his delight in it, which are such prominent features in his character and life as it manifested itself to outsiders. His capacity for mastering an almost incredible amount of work, was something phenomenal. One of its secrets was the wise and conscientious arrangement of his working time, and particularly the use he made of his early morning hours.

The love of God, that dwelt in his heart, made him gentle,

kind and forbearing in his intercourse with others. If ever he thought that by some rash word, in the heat of debate, he might have hurt another's feelings, he hastened to make his peace with the offended brother. And the wrong that was done to him, the slanders and calumnies which were at times heaped upon him, were freely and fully forgiven by his generous and truly humble heart. Though he himself was of a tender and extremely sensitive nature he bore such wrong heroically, knowing too well the nature of the human heart, and comforting himself with the grace of his God and Saviour.

In a circle of congenial friends he was the merriest and most enjoyable companion, brimful of wit and humor, who loved to let himself go in innocent pleasantry like a child in its hours of play. In his family relations, as son, husband, father, grandfather and brother, he was full of deep and tender affection, making his beloved ones feel how truly and fully he sympathized with them in their joys and sorrows. What they and those who enjoyed his more intimate friendship have lost, cannot be told.

After such a life of incessant devotion to duty, of days and nights of uninterrupted work, the bitterest experience, from which his active restless mind shrunk with natural horror, was, "to be confined to the sick-room, to be obliged to stop, though all around there is the call for work." Though threatened by this dark and gloomy shadow he was, in God's providence, quickly delivered from it. He hardly tasted the night, which forbade him to work. The Lord promptly called him to the rest above.

Requiescat in pace et lux aeterna luceat ei.

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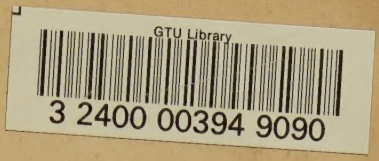

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